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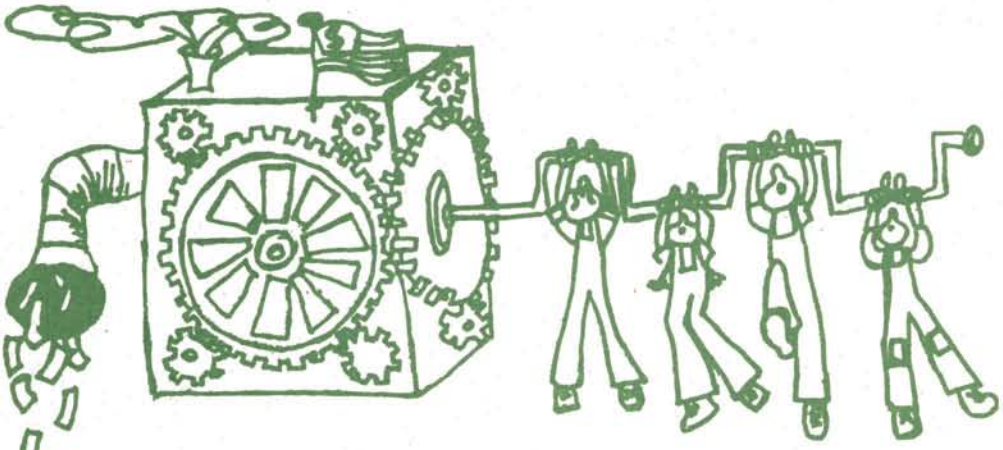

JOBS FOR ALL
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Spring Education Issue

THE 'WHAT' OF EDUCATION
GEORGE W. SHEA

EDUCATION FOR EQUALITY?
STEVEN PHILIP KRAMER

OPEN LETTER TO THE FRENCH CHURCH
EVA FLEISCHNER

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NEWS & VIEWS

The Moneychangers

You've got to get up early to beat the Pallottine Fathers to a buck, as news stories have made clear in coupling the Pallottines with the financial happenstances of Maryland's Governor Mandel and Maine's Senator Muskie.

The revelation comes as no surprise, however, to mail-list brokers. The dope-sheet of one demonstrates why in describing this offering of 59,000 names:

"These are all participants in novenas to St. Jude, the Patron of the Impossible. They have made donations (see above for years and amounts of contributions) to help perpetuate and to spread devotion to St. Jude.

"Contributors' list is cleaned annually by the list owner, one of the very successful Catholic fund raisers in the U.S. This should, like other Pallottine lists, work well for other Catholic fund raising organizations."

Holy Profit

Believe *The Economist* of London: the Vatican's Holy Year was far from being the flop many expected and that even the Pope had feared.

By the time the Holy Door was resealed at year's end, some 8.4 million visitors had checked into Rome, more than three times the number for the last Holy Year (1950), when some 2.5 million arrived.

How many of the 8.4 million were bona fide pilgrims is another question. Said *The Economist:* "It is fairly certain (and not denied in Rome) that not a few of these ostensible Catholic pilgrims were in fact staunch Protestant ladies from Britain, Jewish professors from the United States and other non-Catholics, or even non-believers, who took advantage of the many cheap Holy Year charter flights to see the sights of Rome."

Nevertheless, the Vatican is "visibly bucked up" by the statistics, continued *The Economist*, especially the fact that the throng included a large proportion of youths.

Likewise bucked up is the Italian tourist industry, which netted an extra $630 million, thanks to the Holy Year—"a much needed shot in the arm after a two-year recession," *The Economist* noted.

Will there be another Holy Year in 2000? "With papal doubts now dispelled," *The Economist* says you can bet on it.

Writers' Rights

Might Britain be pioneering a financial break-through for writers? Could be.

Under discussion there are two bills that would join writers' incomes to library usage. One would give authors a special fee when their books were purchased by libraries. The other would employ new computer techniques of accounting to pay writers a royalty each time one of their books was borrowed from the library.

Britain's authors favor the bills, of course. They point out that composers of music receive royalties whenever a recording of their work is performed or broadcast, so why not writers also when their books are borrowed under a public roof?

Seems logical, but not everyone is buying. Lending a book to an individual borrower is not the same thing, some argue, as performing music for a mass of people. Besides, there's the cost. Administrative expenses for either plan would take the best part of $500,000, by one estimate, and the gain to the average author would only be between £9 and £44 annually. Would the return justify the expense?

Yes, say Britain's writers. They dispute the estimates, and in fact see a potential boon (as writers' boons go, that is) particularly in the adoption of the bill tied to borrowing. In Britain, people borrow ten times as many books from libraries as they buy, a ratio far exceeding that of France, Sweden, West Germany or the U.S.

Don't Shake or Rattle

The Chicago newsletter *Overview*, in its annual compendium of Catholic happenings, offers this assessment of the 1975 American lay scene:

"It may be the calm at the eye of the storm or it may be that the storm has swept past, but there has been a tranquility or at least a detente in many parishes in recent months. Just as the number of priests and sisters who have departed seems to have bottomed out, so too does it appear that most Catholics who have voted their dissatisfaction by removing themselves from the weekend mass routine and parish activities have already departed the scene.

"Andrew Greeley's NORC findings prompted him to label the massive decline in regular mass attendance the greatest revolution in religious practice since the Reformation, but quite a few people still wash up in the Sunday pews. There are huge gaps in many places, as in a WW I Infantry Battalion re-mustering after a charge from the trenches, but for the time being, at least, the shooting appears to have stopped.

"Among survivors there's a sort of moratorium on comment and criticism. They talk about anything but the sermon and the liturgy, birth control and abortion. There's a sort of shell-shocked return to the good old days. The voice of the Bingo Number is heard once again in the land. The more zealous divert themselves with Marriage Encounters and the committed have given up talking in favor of good works like small but effective groups who gather food for the local poor, visit the sick and aging. In short, the era of debate and theology has given way to doing, being together, keeping quiet. This may be all for the good, but one gets the impression that people are afraid that one more shake, rattle and roll may bring the whole structure down . . ."

Odds and Ends

— Another priest-editor bites the dust. Msgr. William T. Magee of the Winona (Minn.) *Courier* was dispatched by Bishop Loras Watters after a disagreement over "what the diocesan newspaper should be and become." Magee wanted a "bona fide newspaper, rather than a publication which is merely a religious information guide, a weekly version of the catechism or a house organ." Watters' idea was a bimonthly tabloid without advertising that emphasizes teaching and instruction, and features diocesan news and projects, "especially programs sponsored by the various diocesan offices." Watters' word was law. His concept of a paper began appearing this month.

—Are you a latent Tory? If you're like most of those visiting a Boston Bicentennial exhibit, you just might be. Some 70,000 visitors have been invited to vote on the issues of 1761-1766: Would you have paid the stamp tax or boycotted British goods? Would you have dumped tea into Boston Harbor? Would you have joined a Patriot Militia? . . . A minority (47 percent) sided with the Patriots. Most were either Loyalist (27 percent) or Undecided (26 percent).

— The Archdiocese of Denver's purchase of a six-story "plush" office building in an affluent part of the city upsets some Denver Catholics, who don't think the purchase lends itself well to the concept of a church whose mission is to serve the people. They also don't cotton to the idea of the archdiocese becoming a landlord of the CIA. The CIA has offices in the building, with a lease running to February 1977. The lease will be honored. Beyond that, question mark.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Israel

Riverdale, N.Y.

To the Editors: In your Washington Report on the Middle East [Nov. 10] you strongly emphasize and implicitly criticize commitments and pledges to Israel. You then speak about "doubts and fears of members of Congress. . . ."

It should be pointed out that in the recent Sinai agreement Israel returned a good portion of Sinai to Egypt including the oil fields that supplied 50 percent of Israel's oil needs. In return, Egypt made a few vague general promises such as agreeing to tone down its anti-Israel propaganda and to allow third party ships (but not Israeli ships) to carry goods to Israel via the Suez Canal. This last point was also promised in the 1973 Cease-Fire Agreement but was never adhered to.

Why then should Israel give up strategic defense positions as well as valuable oil fields without getting anything in return? Have we so quickly forgotten who started the war in 1973? Now Sadat visits the White House and is treated with regal splendor. The same man incidentally, who was an open supporter of the Nazis and was jailed by the British because of it.

It has been long-standing Israeli policy never to request any armed forces from the U.S. How many other countries can make that statement?

ARTHUR GINSBURG

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Your editorial [Dec. 5], "Anti-Zionism/A n t i-Semitism," was most welcome, especially being given the prominence this overwhelming issue requires. Jews are indeed concerned, as you state, that the anti-Zionism ploy at the United Nations may indeed "become a cloak under which one hate will become a code word for the other"—the other being anti-Semitism, that primeval myth of awful consequences which it was hoped the rebirth of the State of Israel—

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'THE BOSTON AFFIRMATIONS'

What has come to be called the Hartford statement—an "Appeal for Theological Affirmation"—was issued a year ago. It reemphasized transcendence and urged Christians to reject "false and debilitating" secular ideas that had insinuated themselves into the church. Initiated by Lutheran pastor Richard J. Neuhaus, no stranger to our readers, and by religious sociologist Peter Berger, the statement was formulated and signed by a distinguished ecumenical group, including on the Roman Catholic side Fathers Avery Dulles, S.J., and Gerard S. Sloyan.

In the year since its appearance the Hartford Appeal has been saluted by some for its theological insights and condemned by others for what they saw as its attack on Christian social action. Now a Boston group of 21 activists has issued its own statement, called "the Boston Affirmations" —timed very appropriately for Epiphany—clearly challenging the Hartford Appeal without mentioning it by name. The Boston 21—six Episcopalians, four Presbyterians, three Roman Catholics, three members of the United Church of Christ, two Baptists, two Lutherans and one Methodist—attack what they see as a new quietism that would have Christians turn blind eyes on efforts to fight injustice in the world. As they say in their 1500-word statement, ". . . we are concerned about what we discern to be present trends in our churches, in religious thought, and in our society. We see struggles in every area of human life but in too many parts of the church and theology we find retreat from these struggles." Fighting what they see as a turn toward conservative theology among Christians and emphasizing the importance of understanding and supporting God's work in contemporary situations, the Boston 21 deplore retreat from the struggle for social justice and urge all Christians to seek social reform on behalf of the poor and the oppressed.

At the time the Hartford Appeal was issued, we hailed its broad theo-

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logical vision. In our editorial then we said: ". . . one of the more interesting, remarkable and historically significant religious statements since the effulgence of popular theology that accompanied the crest of Vatican II. Focusing on the narrow but fundamental question of God's relationship to his creation, it is an attempt to 'draw the line' on a few key issues of belief at a time when too much religious discussion seems to be slipping into either irrational and anti-intellectual fundamentalism or an uncritical embrace of a secular humanism." We welcomed the Hartford statement because of an obvious loss of a sense of the transcendent in the modern world, even among some Christians. Further, careful reading of the Hartford Appeal showed that its framers strove to reject both that exaggerated emphasis on God's transcendence that allows some to "withdraw into religious privatism or individualism" and also the utopianism that encourages others to expect that imperfect human beings can create a perfect society.

In short, our reaction to the Hartford statement at the time was basically favorable, and we would not now substantially modify that view. Nevertheless, we could not help but be disturbed by some of the reaction to the Appeal—a reaction, it should be emphasized, that was not the fault nor the intention of its signers. The underlying debate in this matter, put in its simplest form, is between those largely committed to personal piety and those engaged in social action, and achieving the proper balance between the two courses is not easy. It is certainly extremely difficult to achieve such perfect balance in a short statement, such as both the Hartford and the Boston documents; in fact, it may be that quite different statements, with sharply different emphases, are needed for different groups.

Here we can speak with most authority about the Catholic community which we know best; our observations may not be applicable to members of other churches. But as far as Catholics are concerned, the number tempted to absolutize social action at the expense of belief in the transcendent seems to us very limited, to say the least, and these are more persons of the 1960s than of the 1970s. Indeed, the overwhelming fault in the Catholic community is quite the opposite; it is the temptation to the new interiorism and an individualistic piety that almost totally ignores the social dimension. Papal encyclicals, peace messages, bishops' statements on racism or social justice come and go, but the effect on the average Catholic in the pew seems minimal. Too many Catholics still imagine that it is possible to be a good Christian without a commitment to social justice. Social action should not, of course, be considered a substitute for personal prayer and piety, but in a world in turmoil a spirituality that is primarily interior and lacking a commitment to justice is totally inadequate. Yet that, we fear, is the kind of spirituality embraced by all too many of us, and many people seem to have seen the Hartford Appeal as a justification for such narrow spirituality.

The new Boston statement is certainly not immune to criticism. Richard Neuhaus and Peter Berger have already objected to what they feel to be the statement's liberal political perspective, a perspective which they fear might imply an attempt to exclude Christians who would not accept the document's formulas for social change. Said Pastor Neuhaus to Religious News Service: "The engagement of the church has to be much more diverse than simply putting the Jesus brand on one's own program for social change." And Dr. Berger commented: "The Boston group wants to nail us down to a particular agenda which, broadly speaking, is a left-liberal agenda." The danger in this, he said, is that it is tantamount to "excommunicating the majority of American Christians."

No doubt there is something to be said for such criticism. Nonetheless, the Boston statement is important for its rejection of the widespread notion that God can be relegated to a "transcendent realm divorced from life" and for its strong identification with the weak and the powerless. As the statement says: "The living God is active in current struggles to bring a Reign of Justice, Righteousness, Love and Peace. The Judeo-Christian traditions are pertinent to the dilemmas of our world. All believers are called to preach the good news to the poor, to set at liberty those who are oppressed and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." The Boston statement affirms that "those who authentically represent God" must announce God's presence "in the midst of political and economic life"; it proclaims that spiritual renewal can be found in suffering on behalf of the poor and the downtrodden. We can do nothing but rejoice at such affirmations, and we are convinced that many of us who are Catholic could only benefit from meditating on them.

Perhaps it is regrettable that the Boston Affirmations are being viewed so explicitly as an answer to the Hartford Appeal. Father Avery Dulles has already said that the Hartford statement, which he helped draft, in fact contained many of the themes now sounded in the Boston Affirmations; he and other signers clearly envisioned no back-turning on the problems of the world. Nonetheless, it remains true that many seem to have understood the Hartford Appeal in that way, and this fact underscores the value of the Boston Affirmations. The Hartford statement was a necessary corrective for those religious activists who had lost their theological roots; the Boston statement is a most welcome prescription for the future direction of the church. For our part, we would reject neither statement, Hartford or Boston, but would regard both as contributions to the on-going dialogue within the church on a crucial issue. There is truth in each document, and what is needed now is to combine the wisdom of both.

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FROM TURKEY

MORE OF THE SAME

Weeks after the Fall mid-term elections in Turkey the world waits for some signs of movement on a Cyprus settlement—but it looks like it's going to be a long wait. For more than a year, one reason or another has prevented Turkey from moving toward an agreement. First, the country went through a prolonged period without a government; then, when Suleyman Demirel finally formed a workable coalition, he said he couldn't negotiate while the American arms embargo existed. When the U.S. Congress partially lifted the ban on arms sales, the Turks begged off saying elections were but weeks away. Now the elections have come and gone and still no action seems likely—this time because of the election results.

Before the final returns were tallied Turks were already talking about the next election. Opposition leader Bulent Ecevit's Republican People's Party polled the higher percentage of popular votes, 44 percent compared to Demirel's Justice Party's 41 percent, but the JP won the greater number of seats in Parliament. Significantly both parties gained in relation to the smaller parties, particularly the far-right National Salvation Party led by Necmettin Erbaken who currently sits as vice-premier in Demirel's coalition. Ecevit's strength in the big cities increased—he carried Istanbul by more than 50 percent—so as urbanization continues he could be the winner in the next elections. (The next general elections officially will occur in 1977 but there's constant talk of early elections.) The day after the voting one government official told me, "We now have two major parties with the possibility of winning the next general election, but Demirel could ruin his chances with a false step. He must be careful." Demirel's government fears that false step on three major issues: Cyprus, the U.S. bases in Turkey and relations with Greece. It might decide the safest and easiest course is to take no steps at all.

Cyprus remains a powerful emotional issue with the Turks. One repeatedly hears that they "will not go back to the dark days of the past." Most Ankara observers attribute Ecevit's election percentage to two factors: his personality and his handling of Cyprus. As the Justice Party official spokesman analyzed it, "the most important thing is that the Cyprus operation was carried out under his (Ecevit's) leadership." Any concessions Demirel makes can be criticized by the opposition as losing what Ecevit gained. Also Erbakan disagrees with any compromise and although some people hoped his party's poor showing in the elections would make him more conciliatory, that doesn't seem to have happened. Meanwhile Ecevit criticizes Demirel for not reaching a settlement, and promises not to use it for political purposes. But there's no reason to believe him—once Demirel came to an agreement Ecevit would probably call it a sell-out.

So Demirel is damned either way. He keeps trying to find excuses not to negotiate. He has always maintained that his government will not be "blackmailed" into an agreement under pressure from the U.S. or anyone else.

But Turkey does feel the weight of international opinion urging negotiation and for that reason the foreign minister now asserts Turkey's willingness to be "flexible"—which seems to be some sort of code word for territorial concessions. So far, however, no one says what the territory will be so it's impossible to tell whether it's anything meaningful. If no significant steps take place before Congress votes on the foreign aid bill, then U.S. domestic political pressure might dictate a renewal of the embargo. And if that happens Turkish domestic pressure will force Demirel to close U.S. bases, whether he wants to or not.

When Congress voted last July to continue the arms embargo the Turks claimed the unilateral action nullified all agreements and then placed the more than 25 U.S. military installations in Turkey on a provisional basis. Ankara assumed control of the bases and eliminated certain privileges of American servicemen and their families. After the partial lifting of the embargo in October Demirel postponed negotiations on the bases until after the elections. Here again his critics are watching him. Ecevit, who draws support from anti-American feelings, denounced Demirel as a tool of the Americans during the campaign so he can't afford to look like an American patsy, especially at this time of strong nationalistic attitudes in Turkey. Thus he's taking a tough line in base negotiations— asking for Turkish controls plus some sort of "Congress-proof" arrangement whereby the U.S. would pay for use of the bases (he doesn't call it rent because Ecevit has said renting Turkish soil constitutes an infringement of national sovereignty). The payments would enable Turkey to purchase arms from the U.S. or anyone else and would be directly tied to use of the bases: no payments, no bases. U.S. installations in Spain operate on a payment basis so the Americans would probably agree to some form of remuneration but at the first talks Turkey demanded an astronomical $1½ billion a year.

American diplomats in Ankara hoped that after the

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elections some installations might be allowed to partially reopen. But the Turks know the closed bases with their idle, highly-trained technical personnel remain their strongest bargaining card, and they won't play it right away. Meanwhile the U.S. military isn't replacing men whose tours are completed and some bases retain only about 50 percent of their staffs. Demirel agrees that the installations (which monitor Soviet missile ranges and underground nuclear tests, and trace troop movements) form a vital part of Turkey's own defense but in this era of detente he might still sacrifice the bases in the face of domestic political pressure.

Relations between Turkey and Greece remain tense and cynics in both countries consider the tension a government ploy to ensure national unity. Certainly Demirel has reason to wish for unity; when he was Prime Minister in 1971 his government fell as a result of demonstrations and unrest. Student demonstrations continue, many of them resulting in violence, but the last massive march took place at the old Orthodox citadel of Hagia Sophia and was directed at the Greeks. Disagreements over Aegean oil, water rights and air space flare up as hot spots between Greece and Turkey. And recently Ankara, which had formerly agreed to allow the World Court to settle some of the Aegean dispute, announced its opinion that bilateral negotiations should take place before the issue goes to the Hague. So debate drags on, with both countries violating treaties and potential for conflict growing. The arms build-up in both countries goes on—an expense neither can afford.

The message from Turkey reads: more of the same. Domestic political considerations override everything. Demirel knows inaction on Cyprus can politically and diplomatically isolate Turkey. He knows it can result in re-imposition of the arms embargo which would force him to close bases he believes vital to Turkey's security. He knows the economy can't withstand buying more arms. But he's willing to risk it all—international isolation, military and economic insecurity—to win the next election. COKIE ROBERTS

(Cokie Roberts, a previous contributor, is an American newspaper and radio journalist based in Athens.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

POINT AND COUNTERPOINT

A Spring of new beginnings for the Congress, forecast in recent years by its friends, has not yet bloomed. Reform husbandry has been practiced with some successes, but the legislative results are nowhere near its potential.

This is unfortunate, because the climate is conducive to improvements. The presidency is stripped of its halo as a result of the lack of skills on the part of its current occupant, savage abuses committed by his predecessor, and the excesses of power acquired by his precedessor. Consequently, it is an auspicious time, if for no other reasons, for the Congress to improve itself substantially and to recapture the Constitutional authorities it has either let atrophy or willingly given to Presidents over the course of the last forty years. But time is running out. The presidency will soon have an occupant, highly acceptable to the electorate, who will set out to regain all the reins of governance. This may not occur as a result of this presidential-election year, but, quite probably, will as a result of the next—four years hence.

In recent years, the Congress has achieved some improvements at both operational and legislative levels. Four years ago, it approved an omnibus measure designed to improve its operations, including a vast improvement in access to information upon which to legislate. The Congress has approved a proposal to bring "sunshine" to bear upon the darkened legislative process —such as making it more difficult to hold executive sessions of legislative committees, and to enable these committees, as some now do, to prepare, in open sessions, bills being readied for presentation to their full body, the House of Representatives or the Senate. As a result of this Fall's congressional election, about two-thirds of the 100-member Senate and the 435-member house will be "newcomers"—that is, elected within the last ten years, a startling change from traditional ratios in the first six-plus decades of this century. As a whole, the new(er) members are less susceptible to the institutional "traditions" urged upon them by senior members—traditions often used to disguise unfair practices and special-interest legislation. It's about time.

Moreover, the caliber of these new members strikes observers as higher than that of those they have replaced. Bright, energetic and disdainful of customs and rules, whose only rationale for existence is that they're in effect —often to the detriment of the Congress. Two examples, although they differ politically, are Senators Domenici of New Mexico, a 45-year-old Republican, and Haskell of Colorado, a 59-year-old Democrat. A third is U.S. Rep. Les AuCoin, a 33-year-old Democrat of Oregon.

Nevertheless, despite the upward swing, the whole (the Congress) is less than the sum of its parts. The affairs of state now may be too complicated to permit the Con-

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gress, or one or two of its leaders, to "run" the government, as occurred from time to time during the nineteenth century. During Henry Clay's occupancy, for example, the Speakership of the House was the most important Office in the Nation and he ruled President Madison just as he ruled the House he presided over. Those days, just as the supremacy of the Yankees in professional baseball, have gone forever.

Nearly a century ago, Woodrow Wilson observed, in effect, that Congress in session is Congress on display, while Congress in committee is Congress at work. This is still true. But this means the legislative committees, mainly through their leadership, dominate their respective branches, House or Senate. This has led an observer to suggest that the Congress consists of committees that come together from time to time to ratify each other's decisions. There's enough merit in the observation to require some attention to the matter. It may be that the House and Senate each as a whole should discuss a major piece of legislation before referring it to the committee of jurisdiction. This was once done in the early Congresses. It may be time to reinstate a procedure of requiring that a legislative committee report to its full body, House or Senate, a bill unfavorably as well as favorably. At present only bills approved by legislative committees are forwarded for debate and voting to the full body. Consideration should be given to limiting the number of years a chairman can serve as such, and also the number of years a member may serve on a legislative committee, as well as on such important committees, basically non-legislative, as the Senate Rules and House Rules Committees. There are cartels and trusts within the Congress as well as in the business world. Wherever found, the lash should be put to them. A Senator or Representative with 10 or 15 years' service on a committee is, by definition, not more "experienced" and "wiser" than a member with five years' service. What does happen is that the member of Congress with 10 or 15 years' service on a legislative committee has become a broker and/or down-the-line supporter of the private sector of the economy which has an interest in bills within the committee's jurisdiction.

Another legislative sector that needs both alteration and monitoring is the so-called "conference." Differences between the House and Senate versions of a bill are sent to a conference, composed of a few members of both the House and Senate committees which have jurisdiction over the bill. But the conference, like other components of the Congress, has shown itself not to be immune from abuses and misconduct. Non-legislative provisions, as well as legislative provisions, have been added to a bill in conference—provisions which were never considered earlier by the committees of jurisdiction, or the House and Senate itself.

There are other long-standing deficiencies that are finally getting attention. The Congress has taken first steps to retrieve its role in the federal budget process. A few of its committees are finally beginning to exercise some monitoring ("over-sight") of the operation of programs that were established as a result of legislation these committees have jurisdiction over.

But the main danger for the Congress has not yet been dealt with. These days, it is a middle-class, white, centrist institution located at the periphery of its potential effectiveness—placed there by its own inertia, the background of its members, and by aggressive Presidents who want to run the whole show. More often than not, the Congress has been content to serve principally as a forum wherein economic conflicts are resolved—railroads against truck lines, subsidies for demanding shipbuilders and import-controls for demanding manufacturers. It's been years since income-reallocation has been discussed and, only recently, war-and-peace issues in inflamed regions of the world.

The Congress need not repent; it need only reform. Or else, we'll be returned to a situation a President or two from now wherein all roads will again lead to the White House. As a matter of fact, there is a problem in obtaining a redress of authority and power between the Congress and the Executive Branch. Many members of Congress, particularly Senators, don't want to press the issue too hard on the expectation that someday they'll be living as President at the White House. A meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee offers a splendid opportunity to watch a few of these "presidential" Senators bob-and-weave and zig-and-zag. They look at the Senate as a place to pass through. Elected by their constituents as a federal legislators, their hearts, nevertheless, belong a mile away to the West from the Capitol building—that is, at the White House.

SISYPHUS

COMING

GEORGE LINDBECK writes in the *Commonweal* series, "What I Think of the Roman Catholic Church:

". . . a Protestant like myself can't help but be ambivalent about the last ten years of Roman Catholic history. My instinctive sympathies are with Catholic reformers like Hans Küng for whom the chief villains in the present turmoil are the church authorities. They could have saved the church from crisis if only they had not been gradualists or reactionaries. Very little is wrong that would not have been cured be jettisoning ancient rigidities on such matters as birth control and clerical celibacy. . . . As an heir of the Reformation, my natural inclination is to want the bishops and pope to do even more than Hans Küng asks, but I am increasingly skeptical that this would diminish the crisis."

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THE KENNEDY AFFAIR(S)

PETER STEINFELS

THE BLASE attitude with which Americans have absorbed the reports of John F. Kennedy's amorous activities has me perplexed. It is true that reports of JFK's meetings with the female companion of two mobsters who contracted with the CIA to bump off Castro have been euphemized so as to leave open the possibility that the President and the young lady were getting together to discuss Robert Frost; but not many Americans believe that. (The lady in question will soon clear up the matter further with a book, no doubt titled *JFK and I, Cosa Nostra.*) It is further true that much of the media has refrained from following *Time* magazine's lead in reporting not only the President's involvement with various movie stars but also his more bureaucratized interests, with "Fiddle" and "Faddle," for instance, the Secret Service's code-names for two young women, "assigned no discernible duties," who accompanied Kennedy on his travels. Word travels fast, however, if people are interested.

But people are not interested. Or if they are, they are letting on that they are not. Is this discretion the sign of maturity? Or of general anesthesia? I know it is risky to write about something on which one cannot claim to have reached a firm opinion, especially when that something involves the personal life of a deceased and popular leader. Yet for a nation which, from the days that Washington's opponents charged him with ruining a washerwoman's daughter, has always held sexual propriety an essential test of its governors' characters, this indifference is curious. Are we witnessing the final triumph of John Stuart Mill, the acceptance of the liberal doctrine that a sharp line can, and should, be drawn between private and public conduct? Or the triumph of H. L. Mencken, the dilution of the last drop of Puritan blood in a wash of easy-going wisecracking cosmopolitanism?

Not knowing what to think about this, like a good American I decide to take a poll. "What do you think of 'Fiddle' and 'Faddle'?" I ask the Typical American Family, found standing outside a nearby McDonald's. Their reaction is instantaneous. All 4.2 members of the family yawn and slump to the sidewalk sound asleep.

"And what do you think?" I ask a philosopher friend who is waiting at a newsstand for the racing form. "The question," he replies, "is what do we learn about a man's character from the fact that he goes for women like Marilyn Monroe and Jayne Mansfield rather than, say, like Lou Andreas-Salomé."

A Manhattan editor: "Who can object when everyone in the country is swinging anyway? Except possibly a few couples in Iowa." I object, pointing out that a NORC study has shown that seventy percent of midtown Manhattan residents still believe in chastity, especially in regard to sex. "Statistics," he says. "Statistics lie."

An ex-priest, interviewed while he applied a bumper sticker saying "Love God and Do What You Will": "I don't know. The question in my mind is whether these relationships were meaningful. Franklin Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower were said to have had extra-marital affairs. Those, however, were meaningful."

I am tempted to telephone Andrew Greeley who once proposed that JFK be declared a Doctor of the Church. That would be a cheap shot, however. Greeley can't be expected to know everything that J. Edgar Hoover knew. I call a theologian instead. "Lay off," he says. "I'm still trying to deal with Paul Tillich."

I guess I should have known that a poll wouldn't help. Should I be satisfied with the standard liberal view of the matter, namely that Kennedy's amours are private and irrelevant except insofar as one of them may suggest a direct link between the President and the plot to assassinate Castro, or may have provided Hoover with the leverage he needed to carry out his own vendetta against Martin Luther King? If that does not satisfy me, I suppose there are two reasons.

First, it is a fact that our Presidents' private lives are not private. Much attention to their family affairs, to their ski trips, to what they eat for breakfast, is part of the process in which personality is substituted for policy. Remember those images of a vigorous JFK on the beach, those glossy multi-page spreads of the Beautiful Family. If we are going to be moved by that, and I believe that even sophisticated citizens were, then perhaps we should have the full story.

Second, private conduct is revelatory of a person's character. When the investigation of Richard Nixon's finances showed that he had evaded paying the social security tax for his gardener, small matter that it was, I thought it revealed something about the man, perhaps because it was such a small matter. Certainly we should not ordinarily pry into the relations between Presidents and their gardeners, or between Presidents and their personal companions; but when such things happen to be revealed, should we studiously look the other way?

Of course sexual behavior is hard enough to fathom in itself, let alone to relate to those qualities of character thought necessary for statesmanship. We all know that Lloyd George was a great leader as well as a satyr, and Robespierre was a prude. But a

(Continued on page 95)

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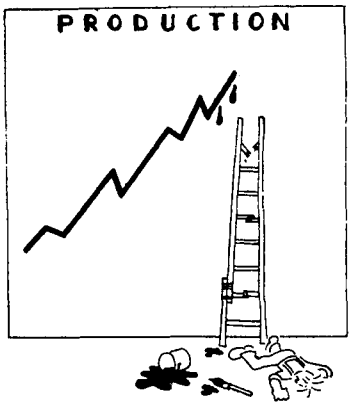
JOBS FOR ALL

MICHAEL HARRINGTON



Pour/LNS

The national goal should be planning for full employment

National economic planning is now being placed on the political agenda. The reason is not hard to find. During the Kennedy-Johnson years, as Lyndon Johnson never tired of pointing out, there was the longest sustained boom in American peacetime history (I say "peacetime" despite the horror of Vietnam because the economy was not mobilized in wartime fashion). That gave rise to the euphoric illusions of the New Economics in the mid-Sixties. With a little intelligent Keynesian fine-tuning, it was said, and particularly with the politically painless strategy of tax-cutting, it would be possible to achieve both full employment, price stability, and balanced, healthy growth. The conventional wisdom of the Thirties, which held that the government need only juggle the macro figures for investment and demand leaving the rest of the decisions to the corporate sector, was triumphant.

Now, a scant seven years since Johnson proclaimed in his final economic message to the Congress that economic life was no longer "a relentless tide of ups and downs" there have been nothing but ups and downs. In part this was the result of the spectacularly incompetent economic management of the Nixon-Ford administrations; in part, as will be seen, it was the reassertion of forces which were not quite as idyllic as the New Economics imagined and which would have tormented liberal Democrats as well as conservative Republicans. But whatever the specific causation of the economic roller coaster ride from 1969 to 1976 it has left almost everyone in the society sick to the stomach.

The workers and the poor have, as usual, borne the brunt of the disaster. Unemployment has soared to the highest levels in a generation—and if we used a realistic method of counting the jobless, those percentages would be double digit right now—and poverty, which declined modestly in the Sixties, is on the increase. Moreover, this cruel waste of human beings is extremely expensive to maintain. One widely circulated figure computes that every percentage of unemployment costs Washington $16 billion in lost revenues and new obligations for things like unemployment compensation and food stamps. That, of course, only calculates some of the most obvious and direct deficits. Related increases in welfare, fire and police protection and all the other indices of social malfunctioning are not so easy to quantify even though they are very, very real. What, for example, is the price tag for a blighted generation of black or Hispanic youth?

But it is not only the workers and the poor who have suffered. In New York City, for instance, some 35,000 security and commodity brokers lost their positions between 1969 and 1974. The auto industry has seen recession, inflation and energy crisis produce some of their worst years in recent history. That, to be sure, is a relative fact: GM made almost a billion in profits in 1974; its anguish was a matter of comparing that figure with the $2.4 billion bonanza of 1973. In the middle class there is greater reason for unease. The college degree has been devalued; the PhD has been subjected to indignities which were unthinkable during the golden age of higher education spending in the Sixties.

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So there is discontent Left, Right and Center. Some, but by no means all, big businessmen therefore have begun to consider planning as a possibility; trade unionists, who have been officially in favor of it for over a decade, have started to take it seriously. And there are two bills in the Congress—the Humphrey-Hawkins "Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act" and the Humphrey-Javits "Balanced Growth and Economic Planning Act"—which seek to articulate this new mood in specific legislative terms. There are, to be sure, counter-tendencies. One of the most important is the attitude of disillusionment with any and all government action which is currently pushed by ex-liberals, like California's Jerry Brown, as well as by conservatives. (I recently pointed out—the *New Republic*, November 19—that this view is based on bad statistics and analysis, but I will not go into that point here.) Still, it is clear that planning is going to be debated in a more relevant way than in any time during the past forty years. That is why it is important to be clear about what is involved.

Within the System

First of all, the planning now under discussion involves at the very most a structural transformation *within* the capitalist system. It is not, and will not be, radical. This means that the Left—the broad democratic Left as well as the smaller socialist Left in America—must approach the subject with considerable sophistication. Such a capitalist reform must not be rejected simply because it does not go far enough; but it must be supported in a way which pushes it to its Left limit and clearly states the necessity of going beyond that limit as soon as possible. Let me try to sort out this rather dialectical view.

There were structural changes within American capitalism on two previous occasions. In the 1890s, the corporations and the trusts triumphed over the *laissez faire* market, and the liberals and progressives managed to get some regulation and even a commitment, honored in the breach for more than half a century, to anti-trust. In the 1930s, the United States backed into a welfare state—the last industrial democracy to do so—and adopted a Keynesian full-employment philosophy, which was then also honored in the breach for forty years. That Keynesian perspective contained a lot more of Adam Smith than most people knew, particularly the big-business ideologues who are the most hopelessly sectarian thinkers in the land. It assumed that the basic corporate mechanisms for allocating resources and accumulating capital were sound; government need only bring savings and investment into phase at a full employment equilibrium. The minimal meaning of planning is that this assumption is challenged. Washington is supposed to take a somewhat more interventionist role in actually shaping the Gross National Product; it is even to become "an employer of last resort."

All of the "natural" tendencies of our economy and society will work to keep that change within the narrowest possible limits. When Henry Ford and Felix Rohatyn talk about national economic planning they are speaking about a corporate-dominated system which will provide better data for the corporations, socialize many of the losses of the private economy but keep the profits private, and absorb the human rejects from big business. That is something more than mere monetary and fiscal management; it is also profoundly conservative even though many conservatives are too entranced by their abstractions to realize the fact.

But there are other possibilities even within the limits of capitalist planning. It is not a matter of indifference to the Left that such planning could get worker and public participation on the board of directors of major corporations, some democratic decision-making on the plant floor, increase the public sector and the resources democratically allocated for social purposes and in general work toward making economic decision-making transparent rather than managerially opaque. These things would not add up to a basic (socialist) change in the system; they would mean significant alterations within it which could provide the point of departure for much bolder action in the future. Therefore it is critical that the Left understand that capitalist planning is not one thing, but a range of possibilities extending from outrageous corporate domination on the Right to serious democratic and participatory openings toward the Left.

However, even as I insist upon utilizing these possibilities to their fullest, I want to emphasize the limits. For in addition to fighting for the Left wing of what is now possible, one must strive to redefine the possible further to the Left. And that requires raising the popular consciousness, educating people as to the limits of even the best incremental victory.

Capitalism, it must be stressed, is as a system hostile to full employment, and its periodic crises, insane as they are in any social calculus, are functional for such an economy. On the upswing, the system generates a capital goods boom, reduces unemployment and makes labor more militant as a consequence, which raises wages, bids up the price of money and allows marginal, inefficient producers to survive or even prosper. But at the height of a boom this prosperity becomes unbearable. Profits are cut by rising wages and other costs, investment tapers off and the capital goods industry turns down, and so on. Then comes the salvation of disaster. Mounting unemployment disciplines the labor force and reduces wages, the inefficient producers are driven out, the profit margins start up. The cycle can begin again.

So the capitalist economy, like one of its prize

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technological achievements, the automobile engine, moves by way of explosions. There is a remarkable agreement upon this fact, stretching from Karl Marx to Arthur Burns. Burns, for example, told an Athens, Georgia, audience last September that the "basic maladjustments" of the American economy—high wages and prices, overly abundant credit, managerial sloppiness—"have been worked out of the economic system by a painful process." This involved the "self-corrective forces internal to the business cycle." To be sure, the Marx-Burns model has to be modified in some of its details: administered prices do not go down even with unemployment near 10 percent on the official scale, a fact that caused Burns to worry in December that the system didn't seem to be working. But that does not change the basic fact. Boom and bust are still very much inherent in the capitalist economy and stable full employment therefore contradicts the workings of the system.

From Burns'—and Ford's—point of view, this analysis of capitalist instability leads to a predictably reactionary conclusion. The problems of the system at the moment of recession can be summarized by saying that profits, which are the engine of accumulation and new investment, are going down. Therefore, they conclude with a certain perverse logic, government policy will serve the common good by bidding profits up and, which is the other side of that coin in a basically antagonistic society, holding wages, public social spending and the like down. Thus it is that the administration has asked for frugality from the people and better tax breaks for big investors.

The democratic Left answer moves, of course, in the opposite direction: putting the millions back to work satisfying the myriad unfulfilled needs of the society. But that cannot be accomplished if one assumes that the corporate mechanisms are the basic instruments for allocating resources and defining new possibilities for investments. Those mechanisms require higher profits as the source for the new investment funds and they demand that those investments be made in terms of profitability, not need. Therefore if planning is going to begin to operate in a humane manner, it cannot be superimposed upon a fundamentally irrational and antisocial structure. The structure itself must be changed. Most fundamentally, the society has to begin to challenge the assumption that private profit and allocation must be the way to achieve growth. Specifically, an expansion of the area in which government—through public ownership, credit allocation, fiscal and monetary power—actually directs resources to decent use.

In short, to use national economic planning for liberal purposes pushes society in a radical direction. Or rather, that is the ideal. In practice what has been proposed falls far short of what is needed.

Before describing those current proposals, a word of introduction is in order. In what follows, I will make criticisms of Hawkins-Humphrey (which is being rewritten at this very moment) and Humphrey-Javits. That does not mean that I reject these bills out of hand. Far from it. They—and in particular Hawkins-Humphrey—have focused some of the most critical issues of these times. They therefore offer a framework for mobilization, debate and amendment. For all of their inadequacies, I take them as a serious point of departure.

The Humphrey-Javits "Balanced Growth and Economic Planning Act" is the broader, and less innovative, of the two bills raising the issue of planning. It argues that "conflicting and erratic short-term economic policies without in many cases providing long-term solutions" as well as "basic structural deficiencies in the United States economy" are among the main causes of our current woes. Its attention, however, is not directed to the "structural deficiencies" (which are not defined) but toward collecting the information which will allow "the formulation of long-term economic goals, the identification of available and potential labor, capital and natural resources, and recommendations for policies to reconcile goals and resources [which] would enable the Federal Government to determine and rationalize its own impact on the national economy." This function would be carried out by an Economic Planning Board in the Executive Office.

The Board would draw up a long-range plan (it would determine how long-range), identify federal, state, local and corporate actions needed to fulfill it and "recommend legislative and administrative actions necessary or desirable to achieve the objectives of the plan. . . ." The theory is—and it is obviously taken from the experience of French "indicative" planning—that the very existence of the plan, plus the fact that the government would be required to follow it, would motivate the private sector to conform to it voluntarily out of its own self-interest. It should be noted that French planning took social objectives seriously on only one brief occasion—under a Mollet Socialist government in the Fifties which, in other respects, was a catastrophe—and has been quite compatible with Gaulliste and Giscardian orthodoxy (although it should be noted that French conservatives do not have Adam Smith on their backs and can therefore be much more comfortable with *dirigisme*).

What are the basic deficiencies of the planning proposed by Humphrey-Javits? My answer borrows unashamedly from an excellent, unpublished critique by Nat Weinberg, one of the best labor economists I know, although, as the saying goes, I alone am responsible for the use I have made of his work. Humphrey-Javits gives "price stability" equal standing with "full employment." That has been the reactionary dodge for thirty years for it gives contradictory instructions to the planners

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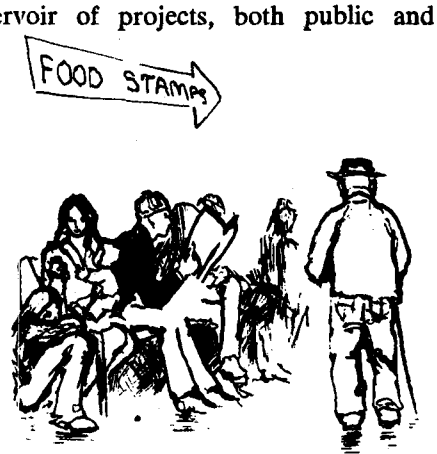
and thus allows one to ignore the plan. Full employment should be *the* goal and price stability should be pursued in ways which do not compromise it. Secondly, there is no real mechanism for democratic discussion and debate. I would argue, for instance, that federal research funds should be provided to any serious groups (and indices of seriousness could be developed to obviate the abuse of such a provision) to develop alternate plans. In France, the law grants workers much more of a statutory right of participation than Humphrey-Javits, but then social reality, which denies the workers the technical expertise which management buys in abundance, annuls that provision. If planning is not to be capitalist window-dressing on the one hand, or a prelude to bureaucratic authoritarianism on the other, this aspect is clearly crucial.

Thirdly, Humphrey-Javits does not allocate credit but allows for "recommendations" as to money supply growth, credit needs and interest rates. Fourth, the planners are not given subpoena power to get the facts from the corporations, i.e., the bill respects managerial prerogatives which are as outmoded as, and somewhat similar to, the divine right of kings. In the Church hearings on the multi-nationals we learned how corporations which had received tens of billions in subsidies refused to tell the government what they were doing. Finally, the bill subordinates the planners to the Budget Office when the Budget Office should be subordinated to the planners.

So Humphrey-Javits is a most moderate bill whose main feature is to socialize some data-gathering, which might then influence government or even trickle down and affect corporate decisions. Yet, if the democratic Left were to organize to introduce amendments changing it in the direction of much greater democratic participation and allocation of resources of the kind I have indicated, it might be transformed in the process. In 1945 and 1946, Congressional conservatives basically altered what was to be the Full Employment Act—and what became the Employment Act—of 1946. There is no reason why a similar process cannot take place on the Left.

The "Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act" —Hawkins-Humphrey—is much more of an immediate political possibility than Humphrey-Javits. Proposed by Augustus Hawkins, a very talented, hard-working Californian and a leading member of the Black Congressional Caucus, and Hubert Humphrey, it was stymied for a long time because the AFL-CIO refused to endorse it. Those disagreements are in the process of being ironed out right now (which means that some of the provisions I cite might change somewhat, but not the basic thrust of the Bill) and Carl Albert is said to have promised passage by this Spring. The chief feature of Hawkins-Humphrey is that, reverting to the concept urged by Franklin Roosevelt in 1944, it declares "that all adult Americans able and willing to work have the right to equal opportunities for useful paid employment at fair rates of compensation." The Employment Act of 1946 said that the citizen *should* have a job; Hawkins-Humphrey holds that he or she has a *right* to a job.

That right, everyone must realize by now, will not be spontaneously recognized by the private corporate economy. Among other things, it conflicts with the capitalist structural necessity of periods of joblessness. Therefore Hawkins-Humphrey rightly says that "it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to enforce this right. . . ." The President is required under the act to make an annual report, revised after six months, which totals the amount of jobs estimated to result from the planned outlays of both the private and public sectors. "He or she" then determines the levels of expenditures, both public and private, needed to yield full employment. In the case of a shortfall the Job Guarantee Office under a newly renamed United States Full Employment Service would refer job-seekers for placement in a reservoir of projects, both public and private,



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drawn up by Local Planning Councils (which have already been set up under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act of 1973). In addition, there will be a Standby Job Corps which will enroll the unemployed for work on community public service projects. This would be regularly paid work at the minimum wage or better and compensation is required to be related to skill and also provide incentives to leave the Corps. I assume this last point means that the public employment cannot be as good as most private employment.

The most basic feature of Hawkins-Humphrey—the guaranteed right to a job—is such an enormous advance in American society that the bill should clearly be the focus of democratic Left efforts. But here again, those efforts should seek to transcend the overly-narrow limits in which this excellent idea is now constrained. Hawkins-Humphrey still fundamentally assumes that public employment is a kind of last resort. As Congressman Hawkins put it at hearings held in 1974 to introduce the bill, "The President is required to develop a national full employment and production program,

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covering all areas of economic activity, which is designed to promote sufficient employment opportunities through normal channels so that the activities of the U.S. Full Employment Service and the Standby Job Corps are reduced to a minimum." And he added a little later, "Priority is given to the development of jobs in the private sector."

Why? Can one really assume that Exxon has made a better use of resources, both human and material, than the TVA? Or that Penn-Central was more efficient than a nationalized rail system might have been? That it is better to over-build Florida condominiums and Nevada casinos while the housing of the poor rots? I need not answer such obviously rhetorical questions. Hawkins, whose work I very much admire in this area, is thereby making concessions to the ubiquitous mythology of a nation which pretends to be intensely practical: that Private is Good and Public is Bad. Of course, if you act on that proposition—for instance by giving the Post Office an impossible task and United Parcel Service an easy one—you can manufacture data to prove that it is true. The proponents of the bill may have felt required by political realities to stand in the center of the road; the democratic Left does not, and must not, do so.

Secondly, the local planning councils under CETA were not structured to get democratic participation and have not achieved it. Thirdly, although the community control emphasis is absolutely essential and must be strengthened, it cannot be allowed to obscure the need for some truly national projects. A federal commitment to restore decent rail service through nationalized railroads operating in the context of a national transportation plan would be a marvelous device for generating a tremendous amount of employment, yet it cannot be planned or implemented at the community level (even though there must be community power over the local decisions about that rail network). Significant local participation is only possible in the framework of a national full employment policy; the latter can only be developed sensibly and democratically if there is the widest possible local participation. The federal and local functions should not be counterposed, even though they obviously will involve tensions. If full employment planning is to work it must be composed of both.

Indeed, I can generalize this brief survey and critique of full employment planning in terms of this point. The two most glaring deficiencies of Hawkins-Humphrey and Humphrey-Javits—both of them clearly related to the ideological-political limits of capitalist society itself—are the failure to provide for a democratic socialization of investment, a conscious shaping of the macro allocations of the society, and, on the other hand, an unwillingness to call for genuine democratic participation at every level of decision-making. As a result, I propose that the democratic Left seek to amend these bills, even while accepting them as an extremely useful framework, by calling for an increase in the public sector (a TVA-type gas and oil company, a nationalized rail system, credit allocation) and for worker and public involvement in the economic choices of the society, from the neighborhood and factory floor through the corporate board of directors up to the national plan itself.

Liberals can clearly support such proposals and Left liberals would do so enthusiastically. None of them requires that one declare for a basic socialist reorganization of society; all of them are located on the Left wing of possibility. The AFL-CIO and the UAW, for instance, are for various versions of most of these amendments. The compatibility of my suggestions with the best of the liberal tradition is, in a nation in which the mass Left goes no further than liberalism, an advantage to be welcomed by the socialist Left without the least embarrassment. But in joining the broad democratic Left to campaign for such measures, I think socialists have a unique job to do: constantly to demonstrate the necessity of going beyond the amelioration of a life in a basically flawed capitalist system as soon as possible. That means taking utterly seriously an ideal which liberals and socialists share, but which socialists follow to its basic conclusion: that economic power must be democratized throughout American society, that the age of corporate power, of an industrial feudalism in which tiny elites make fundamental and intolerable social choices on the basis of private profit, must now be brought to a close.

ROBERT BEUM

MADRIGAL

Waiting well,
Hours without side,
Time not pride,
Will be saved.

Mornings given
To morning light,
Time not pride,
Will be praised.

Eyes that mean
Their smile, trust
Like a bride's,
Will be seen.

Springs that open
Praise not known
Will be shown,
Will come green.

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THE 'WHAT' OF EDUCATION

GEORGE W. SHEA

Escaping the 'smorgasbord curriculum'

One of the questions conspicuously absent from recent discussions of higher education has been the essential one: what shall we teach? We have had exhaustive treatments of why we must teach, how we should teach, and how we can finance our teaching; but very little attention has been paid recently to the subject matter of our teaching, which must be, one would imagine, crucial to the entire endeavor. There are a number of reasons for this lack of interest in subject matter. First, educators have in recent decades become increasingly concerned with methodology at all levels of schooling. Second, academicians in large numbers have espoused the convenient belief that university professors should have the absolute right to teach whatever interests them. And finally, there is an assumption, not unique to our culture, that the subject matter of a liberal education is simply a given fact, not susceptible to discussion or change. Physics, Sociology, and Psychology are simply there. Appearance in the catalogue is more than nine-tenths of the law.

This is not, of course, true. Even if we put aside the question of professional or technical training and focus attention upon the liberal arts alone, there is a vast array of subjects from which to choose. One might argue that a college should offer as many of these as its size permits, and let it go at that. This is, of course, a possible solution, one which has been not infrequently embraced of late; but it involves, it seems to me, an abdication of one of the academic community's important roles.

The subject matter of a liberal education is not just a given fact. It is the product of at least three factors: the educational tradition, the needs of society to provide intellectual paradigms for its learners, and the creative shaping powers of the academic community itself. If we accept as a solution the offering of every subject that can be conceived of by a given set of academicians we permit tradition and, worse still, the needs of a particular society to override the creativity of teachers and learners. The most powerful of these three forces is the pressure exerted by society. In the "smorgasbord curriculum" from which everyone takes what he likes, beginning students will choose the subjects which seem to respond best to social needs; these will soon become tradition; and, as these students move on through higher studies they will, as teachers, perpetuate that tradition. The end result is a university system whose curriculum is dictated by the predominant social system.

In earlier centuries the response of the Western academic tradition to this dilemma has been two-fold. First, that tradition has given prominence of place to study of the past, that is to history in all its forms; and second, it has emphasized the study of those products of the human intellect which are least open to manipulation by a given society, that is works of literary and philosophical genius. The study of the poetry of the past was the first study of the Greeks. It was expanded in the fifth century B.C. to include the study of philosophy, which then embraced both mathematical and scientific disciplines as well.

Throughout antiquity, the greatest obstacle to the control of education by a given state was this insistence upon the study of the great literary and philosophical works of the past. Even in the Roman empire, during its most oppressive years, although professional rhetorical training became a hollow and superficial exercise, it remained possible for the enlightened man to remain intellectually free and to transcend the moral worthlessness of his leaders. This can be attributed in great part to his literary and philosophical education, which itself transcended the present and resisted the pressures of conformity and convenience.

By the seventh century A.D. much of this intellectual and academic tradition had been forsaken. Revelation, as embodied in the scriptures and the elaboration of this by the Church Fathers was seen more and more as all that was required to prepare man for his role in both the earthly and supernatural community. The ancient schools were closed; and the literary and critical wisdom of a millennium was summarized in medieval compendia. The social need of man, in this case both

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temporal and eternal, created a tradition in which Aeschylus or Horace could seldom be more than a distraction.

I am moving toward a bold hypothesis. Western civilization is not only facing but is well into a second breakdown of this intellectual tradition; a breakdown which is rapidly dismantling all that the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance restored. This new breakdown is evident in the precipitous decline in interest in the past and in the study of history, and in the turning from the study of creative literature as a cornerstone of liberal education. I received only a few weeks ago a proposal to begin a new program in my own college which called for sixty-four credits of study in liberal arts. After this had been added: "that is social sciences." Although there are many who will still smile at this, that parenthetical addition says a great deal about where we are in higher education.

Behind the Decline

The decline of the classical literary and philosophical curriculum which occurred during the last century may be attributed to several factors. First, there occurred a failure of purpose and an abdication of responsibility by the academicians who staffed the programs at many colleges and universities. In some cases this can be put down to the kind of academic "flabbiness" and inaction that often accompanies taking one's position of preeminence for granted. In many more cases, however, this abdication was the result of a shift in belief or commitment. Research, often extremely abstruse, eclipsed the concern for teaching. The notion that the teaching of literature or philosophy had a moral purpose became an unfashionable, even ludicrous, idea. Almost blindly, in an attempt to ape scientifically verifiable, and hence excellent, scholarship the humanities turned over the moral shaping of their students to social scientists, who, until very recently, denied that they had anything at all to do with the teaching of values.

The second cause of the decline of the literary and philosophical curriculum is precisely this meteoric rise of the fortunes of the social sciences, particularly in America. The promise of positivism and the new subjects based upon it was filled with hope. We would create nothing less than a science of man, based on fact, not on a poet's wild vision or a metaphysician's elegant system. The hope offered by the social sciences and the fact that they were "new," a quality irresistible to most Americans in this century, made their growth almost inevitable. For the past thirty years one of the most romantic images of going to college has involved being allowed to study at last the wonderful truths of sociology and psychology.

It was not, however, just the newness or optimism of the social sciences that seduced American students. It was their belief that these subjects "worked," that they were in fact the key to our society and culture. Here we come to the third and most terrifying factor in the decline of humanism: the need of our society to have its members formed through the study of subjects which reinforced its own values. Those values are not far to seek. In the last hundred years the character of the American economic and political system has increasingly required a predictable populace, firmly wedded to the notion of the normal type, easily analyzed statistically, and frightened by the eccentric and idiosyncratic. Above all it has required a populace that is satisfied in part and hopeful in part, and one that believes that happiness is easily achieved.

The social sciences fitted this set of specifications admirably. They were based on the twin cornerstones of behaviorism and statistical analysis. This meant that to achieve results they generally had to put their faith in the fact that man was capable of manipulation through the application of the right stimuli; and that the ultimate truth or righteousness was a question of number. What the most people did was right or "normal"; to the degree that one diverged from "normal" behavior one was sick or, in rare cases, evil. All of this was packaged as science, absolutely value-free and antipathetic to the idea of moral training; and several generations of American students have swallowed it.

Most college-educated Americans belong to the generations raised on the social sciences. Two great indicators of this are the folk art, especially that of television, which they create and absorb, and the therapy with which they attempt to deal with psychic crises. Television art is little more than a dramatic elaboration of the conformist, statistical ideal and of the pervasive American optimism. Normality is always the test of happiness and happiness is always achievable. Now and then pathetic attempts are made to deal with so-called deviation, things like abortion or homosexuality. These things are not, of course, significant or dangerous deviations; for the American commercial enterprise could easily absorb them. Occasionally attempts are made to deal with serious social problems; but these are always seen as soluble by the application of tried and true social engineering and therapy. This art can never present absolute idiosyncrasy which rejects conformity to the essential ideal, nor absolute tragedy for which the methodology of the social sciences has no answer.

And yet, there are in fact an infinity of human actions and problems with which this methodology cannot cope. Indeed, one of the most pathetic figures in our culture is the journeyman psychologist or professional counselor facing human tragedy of great depth, one that afflicts a man or woman whose consciousness goes beyond being normal, useful and contented. In the face of this kind of human suffering, the methodology is virtually helpless and almost comic.

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In short, we must face the fact that by putting our undergraduates on a staple diet of sociology and behavioral psychology we have prepared them for conformity, predictability and normality. We have diminished their power to be free, to create, to enjoy idiosyncrasy. We have also opened them to the inevitable failure of these disciplines' methods to present a rich and satisfying answer to the needs of the human psyche. More and more social scientists now recognize this and teach humanistic psychology, whatever that may be, and stress social change in their presentation of sociology. Brave though these attempts may be, the root assumptions of these sciences remain; and it is hard to see how they can succeed in reversing the moral effect which the subjects produce in college freshmen.

In the light of this, there is a much stronger case to be made for the classical literary and philosophical curriculum than humanists themselves have been making in recent years. We must not overlook the fact that creative writers and speculative philosophers seem especially able to resist political pressure, as the great Russian novelist Solzhenitsyn has recently shown us. But beyond this we ought to stress the greater range of creative literature in training man and his world. The rules and patterns of even the most advanced sociological and psychological theories are simplistic when put beside the analysis of human nature in great works of prose and poetry; for these works can deal with idiosyncrasy and eccentricity, with the tragic and heroic, with the vast range of human emotions and motivations in a manner not open to the social scientist. Above all the poet and novelist and dramatist can deal with the free creative impulse in man and with the infinitely complex questions of value raised by that impulse, in a way that makes these things palpable and immediate for their readers.

What then should the agenda of humanists be? Above all we must attack the idea of literature which many of our students bring to their classes. For great numbers of them literature is just entertainment, a kind of primitive or high-class television. Even for the more enlightened it may be little more than a kind of delightful fantasy, which renders harsh reality more tolerable. Harsh reality, however, can be dealt with, they will tell you, only by the serious sciences and social sciences.

These ideas are nonsense, of course; and we must make it our business to attack them at the root, by convincing our students that before they are children or parents or citizens they are essentially creators. We must make them see that the one inescapable task which every human being must undertake is creating a vision of himself and his world; and make them see as well that this vision will be unique, in a way even eccentric, not statistical or "normal." Finally we must try to convince them that it is in the accomplishment of this task that man enjoys the greatest freedom.

If our students can see themselves as creators, then literature will become not a peripheral but a central activity. It will be easier to convince them that poetry is not mere escape or fantasy; but a superb example of what we must do throughout our lives: to perceive in a unique way and to shape ourselves and our world in accordance with our vision.

It seems to me that a higher education which stresses these things will prepare its students for freedom, for the agonies of failure and success, and even for tragedy, better than one which stresses only the behavioral and statistical sciences. What is more, students educated in this way are more likely to cherish a free rather than a functionally comfortable society; and that it is an end worth pursuing however late the hour.

There must be a renaissance of humanities in our college curriculum, and our humanists must stir themselves to bring it about. In doing so, they must remember that humanistic studies have never had an easy time in the American university. The image of a Lincoln reading by candlelight after a day of splitting rails is the image of our dilemma. The workaday world, the economic pressures have always been against us. The practical American spirit prefers the practical subject. Was it not law that Lincoln read? Even in the realm of abstraction science is preferred or, as we have seen, the simple and seemingly effective rules of the social sciences. There is a warning here. We cannot pretend that we are teaching a class of Oxford undergraduates in Cardinal Newman's day. We are teaching hard-headed Americans, often first-generation college students, many of them poor; and we must make them see the relevance of Oedipus and Hamlet, Socrates and Descartes to their lives, their careers, their community. Upon our ability to do this, it seems to me, may rest our hope in maintaining a free as opposed to an engineered and manipulated society.

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Your cauliflower served
my brainpan
death
with housewife fingers
and economy
will plant you deep
with daffodils
the rose-roots twining round
caressing
every blossom grounded there
my flowerpot.

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EDUCATION FOR EQUALITY?

STEVEN PHILIP KRAMER

It is not acceptable that standards be lowered to junior-high levels

The world "equality" can mean many different things. To the Church Fathers, it meant that all men were equal before God, if not before Caesar. To the Founding Fathers, it mean that all men (at least white men) were equal before the law, though not equally fitted to make the law. The Jacksonians gave men equal political rights, and asserted that one man was as good as the next, *whatever* their economic difference. Socialists would extend political equality to social equality, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Unless one defines the meaning of "education for equality," the term means next to nothing. Perhaps that is one reason why the term is not usually defined. Education cannot make men intellectually or morally equal; it can, however, help them to realize their full potential. It cannot produce political equality, because political power is closely related to economic position. It cannot produce economic equality, because that would require a full-scale alteration of the social system. It is not even clear that education can produce social mobility. Christopher Jencks has shown that education and economic success are not closely related. And Michael Katz wrote in 1971, in *Class, Bureaucracy, and the Schools*, that "the powers of schooling have been vastly overrated. Despite substantial financing and a captive audience, the schools have not been able to attain the goals set for them, with remarkably little change, for the last century and a quarter. They have been unable to do so because those goals have been impossible to fulfill. They require fundamental social reform, not the sort of tinkering that educational change has represented."

What education can produce is the mental competence necessary to understand the present system and to challenge it. But we live in a difficult world, and only complex reasoning can comprehend its realities.

"Education for equality" serves as a convenient dodge, a means of justifying present inequality in the name of a mythical future in which social mobility will produce equality. Don't hold your breath. In the meantime millions of people go to high school . . . to college . . . to graduate school in the belief that they will rise up to the lower middle . . . middle . . . upper class. What a cruel delusion! This farce is of course supported by the educational establishment, because it needs some justification, or because educationists have been inbred enough to believe their own malarky. What seemed plausible ten years ago at a time of prosperity seems absurd today. Unemployment has doubtless demystified many about the value of college education for "equality." But one might also stop to consider the effects of this whole mind-set on the quality of higher education.

One of my middle-aged colleagues said to me: "About ten years ago, we began what amounted to open admissions, without much thought or consideration. Now, we suddenly discover the consequences of these programs, and it may be too late to do anything about them." The man who said this is a fine scholar and teacher. He is now very pessimistic.

University faculties are in a weaker position now than at any time since the Depression. A vast reserve army of unemployed teachers has built up. The struggle to get a job, to hold a job has become unbearable for junior faculty. More and more jobs are one-year or terminal positions, and the number of part-time "piece-work" jobs is ever increasing. Salaries have not kept up with inflation, and now administrators are beginning to talk about salary freezes or even salary cuts. Schools are closing. If the City University of New York should fire many of its faculty, the labor market will be even more seriously depressed.

The result is that faculty is more and more turning to unionization, but more out of despair than hope. What faculty really wants is a return to the time when it was involved in basic decision-making, when administrations possessed only modest powers and modest personnel. Unionization is a recognition that those days are over, that the faculty must defend itself in order to survive. Unions are necessary, but it is also important that the faculty speak out about the general issues confronting education. It would be a mistake for the faculty to become merely a special interest group.

Yet the faculty no longer finds itself the natural spokesman for the students, as was often the case during the Vietnam war. Insofar as faculty is still committed to standards, and attempts to assert them vis-à-vis a student body less and less capable or willing to meet them, the faculty seems like an "enemy of the people." It becomes oppressive to impose a scientific or humanist culture on

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"the people." Strict faculty is in danger of losing enrollment to its more "with-it" colleagues, and if it loses enrollment, may also lose its jobs. Similarly for departments as a whole.

At the core of the present quandary of higher education are two facts. First, the University cannot help to provide jobs so long as the economy is not prospering. Second, at the moment the University serves at least as much as an instrument for debasing culture as for encouraging and diffusing it.

Role of the University

Although America stands at the brink of a great revolution in the means of production (through automation and cybernetics), it seems as if the "free enterprise" system is no longer capable of bringing about this transformation. Technological advance on a large scale will require increased planning and governmental intervention. At the same time, technological advance may decrease, rather than increase, the number of jobs in the long run. A shorter work week, and a new relationship between individual and social organization of work may well be necessary. Until this stagnation is ended, the "relevance" of the University will seem strained. "Vocational" education will accomplish nothing unless new kinds of employment develop. And we can hardly expect much improvement until 1980 at the earliest, since Ford, if he manages to avoid a fatal fall on a banana peel, will probably remain absentee landlord of the White House till then.

On the cultural level, the effects of educational "democratization" are rather disturbing. Students who go to college simply for social mobility are not likely to be good students, particularly if they are badly prepared. Public and secondary education seems to be producing expanding numbers of functionally illiterate students. One wonders whether the public schools are about to collapse, or whether they have collapsed already.

The *New York Times* reports (October 15, 1975 "Study Refutes View of Minority Learning") that the reason for bad performance by blacks and Mexican-Americans was not that they had low self-concepts. "The lowest achievers in the schools reported getting the most praise from their teachers. In other words, those who do the worst work have been led to believe they are doing satisfactory work. . . . Minority students were receiving completely unrealistic grades. Those who simply show up for class, the study said, got a C. Thus it is a system with carrots and no sticks. . . ."

It is not only that teachers are intimidated by their students (or their principals), or that they choose the primrose path out of sheer laziness. They are also affected by an ideological revolution (or counter-revolution) within the teaching profession. There are more and more English teachers who refuse to teach grammar (cf. "Students' Rights to their own Language" in *College Composition and Communication,* published by the National Council of Teachers of English, Fall 1974). Romanticism has been carried to the point that any interference with the "spontaneity" of the student is seen as cultural genocide. Wherefore hauntest thou us, O ghost of Rousseau! Others accept the idea that if education equals repression, teaching "white culture" to minorities equals cultural genocide. This same principle is now extended to individuals. Is it not repressive to impose *any* structure on *any* individual, even "standard white English" on whites? Teaching diction and writing is so difficult anyway that it becomes personally and politically easier for a teacher to cop out. The declension ends in solecism. The consequences for all students, and in particular minority students, are disastrous. What is particularly frightening is that the very people who accept and support this process of forced cretinization consider themselves radicals. These local maoists have forgotten that in order to change the world one must understand it. An ignorant population easily becomes the victim of demagogues and neo-fascists.

I am not saying that we should throw out of the University all students who are ill-prepared. It is not, of course, their fault if public education has collapsed and if their family background impedes them. What certainly is called for is an intermediate year in which students would be prepared in basic skills before embarking on the normal freshman course of study. It is not acceptable that vast numbers of students should flunk out *or* that the standards be lowered to junior high school levels. The present system does not lead to equal opportunity, but only to a deterioration of culture and a misuse of human potential.

The goal of education must be twofold. On the one hand, a conservative goal: the preservation of culture, of real culture. For without this, our sensibilities will not survive the forces of Madison Avenue and Wall Street, for whom naught is beautiful save that which is green. Those who do not believe in culture do justice to themselves, to paraphrase Robespierre. On the other hand, a radical goal: the development of critical thinking which can see the limits of our society and have the imagination to offer alternatives. But the world can only be changed, at least for the better, by truth and understanding.

At the end of his monumental study of the Roman Empire, Michael Rostovtzeff writes:

> . . . the main phenomenon which underlies the process of decline is the gradual absorption of the educated classes by the masses and the consequent simplification of political, economic, and social life, which we call the barbarization of the ancient world. The evolution of the ancient world has a lesson and a warning for us. Our civilization will

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not last unless it be a civilization not of one class, but of the masses.

The future of American society will not be bright unless we strive both for economic and social equality and the preservation and free development of high culture. We must answer Rostovtzeff's question of whether "it is possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standards and diluting its quality to the vanishing point" in the affirmative.

Let us beware lest we level culture to barbarism, while maintaining the rule of our own barbarian princes of the Bureaucracy, the Corporations, and the Military-Industrial Complex.

Just as in Rome, the enemy is within.

OF KINGS AND KILLERS

THE SCREEN

As you can tell from John Huston's *The Man Who Would Be King* and Sam Peckinpah's *The Killer Elite*, the life of an adventurer has never been an easy one. It is as hard now as it was in the nineteenth century, when Huston's film, which is based on a Rudyard Kipling short story, is set. Yet judging by these two tales, it would seem that among soldiers of fortune there must at least be a kind of tribal wisdom, a capacity for inherited experience. How else can one explain how men who would be kings settle at last for being members of the killer elite instead? A cynical lesson could be learned from what happens to the men in Huston's film, and it appears that the heroes in Peckinpah's film have learned it. They have learned it in the same way that the sons of radical syndicalists learn to be blue-collar bourgeoisie and the daughters of evangelists become libertines.

The bitter irony in what happens to Huston's fellows, Peachy Carnehan (Michael Caine) and Daniel Dravot (Sean Connery), is that they have to travel so far to discover home truths. From India they set out to conquer Kafiristan, a remote Himalayan kingdom cut off from the rest of the world by treacherous mountain chasms. Their rise and fall in Kafiristan are in fact spanned by two bridges over these chasms—bridges of very different construction. The first bridge comes into being quite by accident. After they have proceeded beyond the point of no return into the snow-bound peaks, they come to a gorge. Unable to cross, they retreat to the scant shelter of a ledge and sit down to freeze to death. But as they wait they fall into such hilarity reminiscing that their laughter causes an avalanche which fills in the gorge, thus allowing them to proceed.

Women and Seton Hall

Portrait of Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton by artist Joseph Dawley of Cranford, N.J. shows her as a young mother.

WOMEN have done much for Seton Hall University. The first was St. Elizabeth Ann Seton, whose name we bear and whose spirit we have followed since 1856.

THE OTHERS are the many thousands who have brought intellect and verve to our campus.

WE'VE NOTICED.

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The second bridge is one that Dravot has Peachy build as a first step toward unifying the kingdom after they have conquered it and Dravot has been crowned its divine emperor. As long as they remain soldiers of fortune, simply taking advantage of what fortune throws in their way, they do all right. The first bridge is a piece of luck like this, as are an arrow wound suffered in battle and a Masonic fob Dravot happens to wear around his neck. (The former, hitting a bandolier under his tunic, gives the impression Dravot is invincible, and the latter, revealed when Kafiristan's high priests rip open the tunic to test his invincibility, turns out to be a mystical symbol in their religion.) But as soon as the comrades in arms begin trying to build their bridges instead of just letting them happen, things go wrong. The last straw comes when Dravot defies the priests in order to marry one of his subjects. When a rebellion breaks out at the wedding, Dravot is chased onto the bridge he had Peachy build, and its support cables are chopped away by the mob, plummeting him into the chasm.

What really brings Peachy and Dravot to this, so to speak, impasse, is their petit bourgeois attitude toward things. "Men like us made the Empire what it is today," Peachy complains, "and we don't get none of the bloody benefit." It is the eternal middle-class lament, and because they take it seriously, Peachy and Dravot can only leave India for a land of greater opportunity. Their values are perfectly emblemized by that Masonic fob, and what goes wrong in Kafiristan is perfectly emblemized, too, in the new power that fob acquires there. What Kafiristan offers is the opportunity for these men's bourgeois values to take on the proportion of tragic flaws—the opportunity for discontent, bustling and ambition to become greed, lust, avarice and the kind of pride that goeth before a fall.

It is therefore noteworthy that such bourgeois values are the one vice Mike (James Caan) and George (Robert Duvall), the heroes in Peckinpah's film, never indulge in. This suggests, perhaps, a refinement in the adventurer breed. Because they don't indulge in the hopes, aspirations and illusions of other men, Mike and George don't have to leave home to make a career for themselves. By detaching themselves from their society, paradoxically, they can remain a part of it. They are, to use an expression Peachy and Dravot would find familiar, men who know their place. Their place is on the staff of an espionage-sabotage firm in San Francisco, a private-sector C.I.A. Where Peachy and Dravot are Victorian parvenus, Mike and George are Nixonian civil servants. In the opening scene when a scientist they are supposed to smuggle out of the country (but will soon kill instead) asks about their work, they can't even keep a straight face or give a serious response.

What it takes Peachy and Dravot until the end of their story to learn, Mike and George seem to know in their negative way right from the start: that all soldiers of fortune ever really have is each other. Camaraderie is everything, the rest is dross. Mike and George show their appreciation for this early on, when George shoots Mike. This reorients but does not fundamentally alter the relationship between the two men. Now instead of sticking with his buddy, Mike is trying to stick it to him; but it's still the buddy system. Mike is so loyal to his memories of George that in order to stay in the game long enough to find him again, he turns down a generous disability pension from the firm. Such insight into what really matters in life isn't shown by Peachy until the very end of his story, when he returns to India with Dravot's head, still wearing its crown, in a sack.

In the end of his film Peckinpah restages all of World War II on his own terms. To get at George, Mike takes a job protecting a Japanese politician George has been hired to assassinate. The show-down comes when they all rendezvous on a Liberty ship anchored in the moth-ball fleet in San Francisco Bay. On her decks the Japanese and Americans fight it out once more, Peckinpah-style, and operations in this Pacific theater end with a classic Peckinpah moment. Mike gets the drop on a Japanese adversary and simply can't comprehend why the politician he's protecting from this adversary won't let him shoot the man. Instead the politician wants to accept the man's challenge to samurai combat and go through a whole rigmarole to kill him himself. While the man stands by, waiting to hear whether his fate will be the pistol or the sword, Mike and the politician argue it out. They're hopelessly at loggerheads, though. Peachy and Dravot would have understood that politician immediately, but the rest of us ceased doing so around the time those Liberty ships went out of service. That was about the same time adventurers like Mike and George began making a place for themselves here at home.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

JOHN NIXON, JR.

THE MARCHER

Being out of step with those who are out of step is not
The same thing as being in step with those who are in
step, he said, but what
Difference does it make, anyway, since the whole damned
parade is headed for the same place and we all
Get there, sooner or later, whether we sprint or crawl.

On second thought, he thought, perhaps a clown,
While entertaining, could remind the town
Of dignity, the tragic pulse. His drum
Instructs us now. Te-tum. Te-tum. Te-tum.

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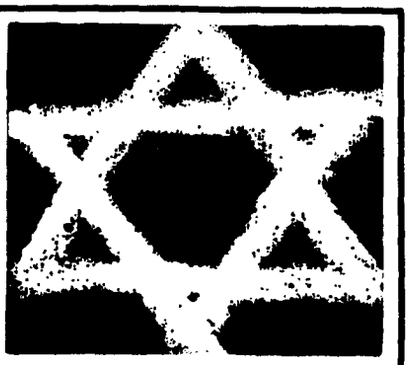
OPEN LETTER TO THE FRENCH CHURCH

EVA FLEISCHNER



ROBERT ARON'S death last April deprived the French religious and intellectual scene of one of its finest representatives. Member of the Académie Française, historian, religious thinker, journalist, Aron had for many years been actively engaged in the Jewish-Christian dialogue. Only one of his works in this field is known to English-speaking readers (*The Jewish Jesus,* Orbis Books). The work under discussion here—it was to be his last, completed shortly before his death and published posthumously—will, one can only hope, be available in English before long. It is a fitting legacy to the French Church and to Christians everywhere from one who has contributed much to a better understanding of Judaism on the part of Christians.

On April 16, 1973 the French bishops published a set of Pastoral Orientations for Christians to guide their relationship with Jews. The Orientations aroused a major controversy in the French Church. Many hailed them as a breakthrough that went far beyond the Vatican II Declaration; others accused the bishops of betraying the Christian heritage. Aron's *Open Letter to the Church of France* is, in his own words, not so much a response to the bishops' document as it is inspired by it. He comments on the document, which he considers a major step forward in the history of Jewish-Christian relations, takes each point to a new depth, elucidates it, brings his own insights to bear upon it. In the process he has given us a book that brings us into contact with the very soul of Judaism.

Because the bishops' statement received too little attention in the U.S. press at the time and has since been largely forgotten—in my mind it has not been equaled, yet alone surpassed —let me briefly go through its main points, which provide the framework for Aron's book.

The bishops speak of the unique and enduring vocation of the Jewish people across the millennia, a vocation which they sum up in the Jewish phrase, "the sanctification of the Name." The Jews' continuing presence in the world is a challenge and call to faith for Christians, who are urged to deepen their understanding of Judaism, in particular of the laws that govern every detail of the devout Jew's life. The bishops interpret these laws in accents reminiscent of an Abraham Heschel: "They (the laws) are a way of 'building time' and of giving thanks for the whole of creation," Israel's enduring Covenant is affirmed unequivocally. It must be taken on its own terms before it finds "*for us*"(!) its ultimate meaning in the New Testament. The two words I have italicized occur also in another place, and are a striking indication of the total absence of absolutizing on the bishops' part. It was this, to some extent, which aroused such fear and hostility in certain rightist quarters.

The Jewish people's right to return to Eretz Israel is affirmed, and Christians are urged to take into account Jewish interpretations of the return to the land. At the same time the bishops call upon all to work for justice for those who have lost their homes and land through the creation of the State.

The bishops insist that Israel and the Church are not complementary institutions, but that the continuing existence of each in a situation of contestation is, as it were, a sign that God's plan is as yet in a state of unfulfillment. They deal with the delicate issue of giving witness by squarely stating that all intent of conversion must be excluded a priori, not only out of respect for the other, but above all because the Jewish people is the object of an "Eternal Covenant" without which the "New Covenant" would not even have come into existence. Hence the Church, far from seeking the disappearance of this people, can find its own identity only through a living link with it.

The various chapters of Aron's book correspond roughly to the bishops' main points. There are historical sections that deal with the trial of Jesus, the Pharisees, Christian origins, the beginnings of the rift. Other chapters examine certain theological concepts: the Covenant, Jewish universalism, the relationship of Israel and the Church, the mission of Judaism, the crisis which both Judaism and Christianity face today, the possible meaning of Jesus for Jews.

The originality of Aron's book lies in his approach and tone almost more than in its content, which has been and continues to be explored by others, both Christians and Jews. The book reveals Robert Aron the man: patriotic Frenchman as well as committed Jew, loving not only France, but that French landscape which is to this day dotted with church steeples. So deeply is this scenery part of him that, in all his eagerness and joy to be at long last a pilgrim to Eretz Israel, he feels some vague lack on his arrival there. Only when he enters the church of Ein-Kaarem, where the Roman liturgy is celebrated in Hebrew,

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does he feel completely at home. "I needed a church to be able to enter Jerusalem." He concludes his foreword with "Thanks to the Church of France which, without seeking to turn me from my faith, has offered me an echo of my home at the supreme moment of my return to Eretz Israel . . . which has permitted the French Jew who regains the soil of his ancestors to feel himself surrounded by the air of his native land, as well as by the exhilarating winds of the city where God may be awaiting him, the God of his fathers, the God of our fathers. It is in memory of this moment that I have dared to publish this letter from a Jew to the Church of France."

This deeply personal note which runs throughout the book is interwoven with the larger historical and theological context. The French Church is no abstraction or power structure for Aron. It is living human beings, with some of whom he had formed deep friendships. There is l'Abbé Larue, to whom he entrusted his books and papers when he had to flee the occupied zone, and who promised him that he would find them in place on his return. The priest was killed by the Nazis, but kept his promise even in death: when Aron returned the books were in their place on Larue's shelf. There are meetings with Henri de Lubac and other Catholic theologians with whom Aron engaged in dialogue. Above all we have some unforgettable vignettes of Teilhard de Chardin, whom he visited frequently and whose difficulties with the Church authorities he shared with deep empathy. On one of their visits, reacting to some new obstacle Teilhard had just encountered and sensing his deep discouragement, Aron exclaimed half jokingly: "After all, Father, am I not lucky to be born outside the Church?" And Teilhard replied gravely: "Would that it were possible to be both inside and outside the Church. . . ."

Aron is aware of the vast common ground between Judaism and Christianity, but equally of the differences between them. Among the latter he singles out one subject in particular which has not, in my experience, been given sufficient attention: the miraculous. As commonly understood in Christianity, this plays no role in Judaism, according to Aron, because everything is sign and encounter with God; nothing is profane. In the Hebrew Scriptures, even before Ezra, the supernatural, the miracle, is generally embedded in real facts. Aron distinguishes three levels. There are, first, certain given facts (historical, geographical, etc.), which are the framework for the supernatural. Then there is God's action—intervention, yes, but working through and with these facts rather than by-passing or annihilating them. Finally, there is the human dimension of commentary and interpretation.

Christianity, on the other hand, beginning already with Jesus' own life, was to spread largely through the miraculous. This was necessary, perhaps, in order to adapt monotheism to the Greek and Roman mentality. What Aron calls mythological miracles now come to abound around the "real" facts which constitute the supernatural for Jews. Necessary, perhaps, so that monotheism could appeal to the gentiles; but also one of the elements that widened the rift between Church and Synagogue.

Aron illustrates the two different tendencies from within the Jewish tradition itself, in the following Midrash (Baba Metzia 59b):

> . . . On that day Rabbi Eliezer brought all the proofs in the world, and the masters would not accept them. He said to them: If the law is according to me, let this locust tree prove it. The locust tree moved a hundred cubits. . . . They said to him: The locust tree cannot prove anything. Then he said to them: If the law is according to me, let this stream of water prove it. The stream of water turned and flowed backward. They said to him: The stream cannot prove anything. Then he said to them: If the law is according to me, let the walls of the House of Study prove it. The walls of the House of Study began to topple. Rabbi Joshua reprimanded them: If scholars are disputing with one another about the law, what business is it of yours? They did not fall down out of respect for Rabbi Joshua, and did not straighten up out of respect for Rabbi Eliezer, and they are still inclined. Then he said to them: If the law is according to me, let the heaven prove it. A voice came forth from heaven and said: "Why do you dispute with Rabbi Eliezer? The law is according to him in every case." Rabbi Joshua rose to his feet and said: "It is not in heaven" (Deut. 30:12). What is the meaning of: "It is not in heaven"? Rabbi Jeremiah said: The Torah has already been given once and for all from Mount Sinai; we do not listen to voices from heaven. For you have already written the Torah on Mount Sinai: "After the majority must one incline" (Exod. 23:2).
>
> Rabbi Nathan came upon Elijah. He said to him: What was the Holy One, blessed be he, doing at that moment? Elijah said to him: He was smiling and saying: My children have defeated me, my children have defeated me!

Aron adds his own commentary to the Talmud, creating yet another midrash. Rabbi Eliezer is the wonder-worker, the thematurge, the man who causes miracles to happen, and who has much success in converting gentiles; he persuades God to intervene directly in human affairs. Rabbi Joshua on the other hand, his opponent, is more in the tradition of Ezra and the Pharisees. He does not reject belief in the supernatural, but dislikes the marvelous, which often makes excessive use of the supernatural and even disfigures it. Pagans won't understand him, he is a poor missionary, makes no converts. If at that time there had been only rabbis like him monotheism would probably have remained the preserve of the Jews, with

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little appeal to gentiles. It would have remained intact in a world closed to its convictions. Would this, in the perspective of the Absolute, have been good or bad? Aron leaves the question open. Christianity, for him, obviously developed in the spirit of Eliezer.

The author is very much at home in Jewish tradition, whether it be that of the age of Moses, of Akiba, or the twentieth century. He is a French Jew who knew the Nazi occupation and narrowly escaped Auschwitz. The 6,000,000 who did not escape appear again and again in these pages, as a sacred memory and legacy. The observance of Yom Kippur brings back to Aron's mind not only the war of 1973, but the Warsaw ghetto revolt, Massada and the Maccabees. And yet, despite this abiding awareness and background of the Holocaust, the author is one of those whose faith in the God of Israel seems not to have been shaken by the cataclysm. (Even as I write this I ask myself if I, or anyone, have the right to make such a statement. Can we ever know what crises of faith another had undergone? Let me, then, less presumptuously, simply say that the pages of this book breathe a deep, serene faith.)

Yet the author is keenly aware of the crisis which both Judaism and Christianity face today, each in its own way, and of the challenge to both posed by atheistic humanism: that phenomenon where so many of the most "righteous" deliberately refuse to identify with either—or any other—faith community. It is precisely in this situation, and against the background of countless massacres over the centuries, that Aron believes Israel must continue to give witness to its God. Addressing the bishops once again directly he writes that for a Jew to renounce the God of the Bible, or for a Christian to renounce Jesus Christ, is too facile a solution, "which mutilates and amputates us of the legacy of thousands of years." Today's world is in need—not of a new myth, but of a new hermeneutics of posing questions.

One of the most provocative sections of the book concerns the meaning of Jesus for Judaism. Aron places this question within his wider view of history, which he sees as a succession of Covenants. The Covenant is one of the great innovations of the Bible, an antidote to idolatry. Because the biblical Covenant engages both God and human beings, it actively challenges the human partner to response-ability. Wherever this response is lacking, wherever the human person simply remains prostrate before God, passive, engulfed in petition and need, there dialogue is lacking, there is idolatry; that idolatry which never ceased to haunt Israel, to which it frequently succumbed, yet never once and for all.

This Covenant is not limited, for Israel, to one unique, marvelous, once-

for-all event, but is inscribed in its flesh throughout the centuries: "It is consubstantial with us." And it extends to humanity at large. Wherever there are those who ask insoluble questions and persist in wrestling with the divine paradox, there Covenant exists and is perpetually renewed. It is natural to man as man, and to God as God, who chose freely to enter human history. This broad, universal covenantal relationship began with the Noachitic Covenant, made with all humanity. It was followed by the various Covenants with Israel (Abraham, Sinai), which do not supersede the earlier one. For Jews the Sinai Covenant is that fundamental act which makes them into a people. But it does not erase what has gone before, even though it occupies a central place in Jewish tradition. It brings to a new perfection past history, and at the same time looks to the future with a limitless openness. This is brought out in the Midrash of Rabbi Akiba, of which Aron gives his own, again slightly adapted, version:

> When Moses had been given the Law on Sinai, he suddenly was caught up in an extraordinary vision that transported him across space and time. He saw all over the earth, through millennia to come, generations of men from every age and country, speaking strange languages which he did not understand, and who traced themselves back to him, commenting on his words, the words of the Torah. For a moment Moses was filled with an almost superhuman dread, hesitation and doubt. What was to be his attitude toward all these words, the meaning of which escaped him? Must he reject them, protest, or accept them as coming from him? Were they faithful translations, or more or less accurate adaptations?
>
> Suddenly Moses made up his mind. Realizing that all these men traced their descent back to him through the uninterrupted chain of human generations, that each of them represented a stage necessary to the permanence and spreading of the Covenant which he had concluded, he gave them his blessing and agreed solemnly with all the words which, from every part of the globe, each day of times yet to come, rise at this moment toward him, *even if he does not understand them.* (Italics in Aron)

This ancient Midrash raises one principal question for Aron, which he addresses to the bishops: Is it possible that across this vast distance of time and space Moses might have been aware of the presence of Jesus in the midst of all these disciples of his? Aron's own—admittedly purely personal—answer is in the affirmative. True, despite their Jewish roots there is much in the Gospels, Acts, and especially in Paul, that would surprise, perhaps even scandalize Moses: unavoidable consequence of the vicissitudes of time. And yet, how could

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Moses refuse to see an application of the Covenant in that son of Israel who made possible its dissemination throughout the world, and that of biblical monotheism to half of humanity, across twenty centuries?

It is within this context of a series of Covenants that Aron situates Jesus and his meaning for Jews. The questions which Christians frequently pose to Jews today: Who is Jesus for you? A Rabbi? A wonderworker? A prophet? A false Messiah? A Messenger from God?—none of these "choices" offers Jews an authentic solution. Jesus can be understood only in the framework of a succession of Covenants. It is here that he finds his place—as one more point of encounter between God and man. The definitive encounter? Surely not for Jews—today not even for all Christians. But real and unique no less for that. Aron returns here to the aspect of the miraculous and its different interpretation in the two traditions. For Jews, the supernatural aspects of Jesus' life would be a midrash, i.e., a spiritual and moral interpretation of a material fact. For Christians, they are a real phenomenon, pure and simple in their authenticity.

This approach to Jesus typifies in some ways Judaism's relation not only to Christianity, but to humanity at large. Aron is profoundly influenced by the great twentieth-century scholar, Elias Benamozegh, for whom all religion, even idolatry, contains some truth and is worthy of respect. It is not a question of condemning error, but rather of blessing those peoples and religions which have managed to discern truth even in the midst of error. Hence, the goal is not their conversion to Judaism, but the pursuit, in greater light, of their own gropings for truth. This enables Benamozegh to say that "the image of God on earth, the partner of the Creator Spirit, is not the Semite, not the Jew, but the human being."

Here we have "catholicity" in its truest sense, one that far exceeds its more common "Roman" connotation. This great-heartedness and largess of spirit are to my mind the most powerful aspect of Aron's book. There is evident throughout a concern for the future of Christianity scarcely less keen than that for his own people. The destinies of the two peoples are linked—not only through a common origin and often tragic history, but a shared hope and witness.

Aron's deep sympathy and concern for Christianity not surprisingly, perhaps, make him capable of remarkable tolerance for the at times slow rhythm to which Rome moves. In a concluding note he speaks of the January 3, 1975 Vatican Guidelines, [*Commonweal* editorial, Jan. 31, 1975], which appeared after the book had already gone to press. Aron comments that these Guidelines (widely covered in the U.S. press) follow the same general direction as the French Bishops' Statement, but are less precise in their conclusions. His last words are a model of charity: "This is only natural in a document that addresses itself to all Christian countries, some of which do not share—often for political reasons—the same spirit of kindliness and good will. The Pope must take into account all the particular elements of which Christianity is constituted." Is this Jew, perhaps precisely because he is a sympathetic outsider, capable of more tolerance toward Rome today than many Catholics are? This is only one of the intriguing questions raised by the book.

As a religious historian Aron measures history in periods of 2000 years. It took two millennia, from Abraham to Jesus, for monotheism to become sufficiently aware of itself through one small people. Another 2000 years were needed for idolaters to be converted to the true God—a time in which Israel was despised, rejected, persecuted. And now, after these 2000 years, after Vatican II, are we perhaps on the threshold of a new beginning, yet another Covenant, which will not annihilate but consummate what went before?

This openness to the future characterizes not only this book of Robert Aron—his last—but his entire work as historian. He perceives history not merely as the record of the past, but as straining toward the future, which is dimly outlined in the past. Only the end-time will reveal to us the meaning of the whole. Until then all is in suspense, and we walk the tightrope between what has been and what is yet capable of being. The past between Jews and Christians is increasingly recognized by us today as heavily burdened. The future is open as never before perhaps—at least for those who take Aron's desire and vision seriously.

ROY SCHEELE

NEXT MORNING

For Bob and Jane MacLennan

Fresh from the storm, the glistening
tips of the juniper stir in the wind,
stretching out fingers of rainy green
in half-light here at our door.

They resemble our own
sheen and sway, tossed
in the shy gusts of conversation,
and what we hold on by, like them,
is something that leans toward light,
a stem—
the voice that we call human.

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SLAVERY AND THE UNCHRISTIANS

C. PETER RIPLEY

Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898-1903

WILLARD B. GATEWOOD, JR.

U. of Illinois Press, $12.95

Slavery and the Churches in Early America, 1619-1819

LESTER B. SCHERER

Eerdsman, $5.95

A sense of irony permeates Afro-American history. This land—from its seventeenth century origins as British colonies through its emergence as a world power—has been hard-pressed to reconcile its equalitarian philosophical underpinnings with its treatment of Africans and Afro-Americans. The studies reviewed here are shrouded by two ironical contradictions: The supportive relationship between Christianity and slavery in early North America and the role of Black Americans in the nation's imperialist assumption of the "white man's burden" at the turn of the 20th century.

Lester B. Scherer's *Slavery and the Churches in Early America, 1619-1819* touches the irony of Christians owning slaves in colonial America. From the early seventeenth century to the eve of the American Revolution churches and churchgoers were silent on slavery, believing, as they did, concludes Scherer, "That slavery was necessary to themselves and not really harmful to the slaves." As late as 1763, he continues, slaves were as ignorant of Christianity as when they left Africa. Most owners, concerned that baptism might challenge the civil status of their chattel slaves, did not offer them religious training. Once that fear was quieted, a cautious Christianity was offered to slaves, and predictably (and ironically) that Christianity stressed obedience to masters and heavenly rewards. The colonial church first greeted slavery with silence and then supported it, in part, by spreading a conservative gospel to those slaves who would listen. The ironies are obvious.

The period from 1763 to 1819—a half-century of revolution and nation building — generated additional and equally obvious ironies: slaveholding colonists railing against British tyranny; slaveholding revolutionaries declaring to the world that "all men are created equal"; slaveholding Americans tactfully avoiding the slavery issue in the new Constitution, and, finally, slaveholding continuing in the new nation long after it was outlawed throughout the British Empire.

The role of the churches in all this? They reflected contemporary "ambiguities of revolutionary ideology concerning black people and slavery," concludes Scherer. All of which means that some church leaders recognized these contradictions and embraced abolition of slavery as they did American independence; yet most church members "had difficulty . . . overcoming their . . . 'prejudice' enough to raise the plight of black slaves to the same level as their own quarrel with the mother country." During the period 1763-1819 most church governing bodies discussed the future of slavery; but, except for the Quakers who eventually excluded slaveholders from membership, American churches failed to successfully challenge slavery or their slaveholding members.

If it seems ironical that Christianity and the churches in early America were wed to slavery, consider the proposition

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that during the 1890s, while America disenfranchised, segregated, lynched, and terrorized its black citizens with abandon, the nation shouldered the "white man's burden" in order to help those "less fortunate" in Hawaii, Cuba and the Philippines. Nevertheless, that's what happened. And Willard B. Gatewood, Jr. tells how it was done and how black Americans responded.

Racial oppression and legal discrimination increased dramatically in the last years of the nineteenth century. Abandoning the last vestiges of unfulfilled Reconstruction promises, by the 1890s, Americans had succumbed to a negrophobia which forced a feeling of mounting crisis in the black community; the resulting anxiety was the benchmark which guided black responses to overseas expansion—those who opposed expansion as well as those who embraced it did so because of the eventual effect they believed their preference would have on domestic race relations, concludes Gatewood.

Despite conditions at home, by 1898 and the start of the Spanish-American War, many black Americans had turned their attention to United States expansion. Some were as jingoistic as the most aggressive white expansionist; black Republican officeholders, particularly, believed that following administration policy and helping the white man with his "burden" would generate greater respect (and rewards) once the empire was consolidated. But they were a minority in the black community. Other blacks were firm anti-imperialists, assuming that position, feels Gatewood, "principally on the grounds that a crusade abroad would divert attention from the racial crisis at home." A majority, though, fell somewhere between the two positions. They "pursued a tortuous course characterized by ambiguities, contradictions, and dramatic reversals." But ironically, that majority eventually felt duty-bound to participate in the military struggle in Cuba and the Philippines, believing as they did that black patriotism would smother white prejudice at home.

Despite black patriotism and support of American imperialism, a racial ideology qualified all black responses. Black Americans were less apt to perceive the colored peoples in Cuba, in Hawaii or in the Philippine Islands as "burdens" and more apt to identify and sympathize with them than white Americans. Blacks were cognizant of the similarities between their conditions at home and the conditions of the people in the islands—all "longed for liberty and freedom from white oppression," concludes Gatewood, which gave them a common interest. Witness, for example, the racial flavor of the different responses to American interest in Cuba and Hawaii: a black majority supported intervention in Cuba, hoping that America would liberate the residents of the island from Spanish domination, but that same majority was far less enthusiastic about intervention in Hawaii, an island of free peoples which was threatened by eventual American control.

This racial window as a viewer of American imperialism is Gatewood's strength. He proposes that Afro-Americans were confronted with being Negroes as well as Americans, and, ironically, and shamefully for the nation, frequently that contradiction was aggressively contradictory. But even when responding as boosters or soldiers, black expansionists often had one eye at home, believing, or at least hoping, that service to the nation abroad would improve domestic race relations. Nor could black Americans embrace all imperialism equally: a racial identity with the peoples of Cuba, Hawaii, and the Philippines and an awareness that American interference affected the self-determination of each of those islands differently made black Americans cautious of the "white man's burden."

The two studies reviewed here share little beyond ironical contradictions. Gatewood's is thorough, well researched and readable; it's good history and will stand. It takes a slice of Afro-American history, examines it, and suggests the complexities and nuances of being black in America. Scherer's is less satisfying. Scholars will find *Slavery and the*

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Churches in Early America brief and sketchy and weak in research and methodology, a bit jejune. An interested novice could read it for an outline and for its references to related works by David B. Davis, E. Franklin Frazier, Winthrop Jorden and Thad Tate.

The Courage to Choose: An American Nun's Story

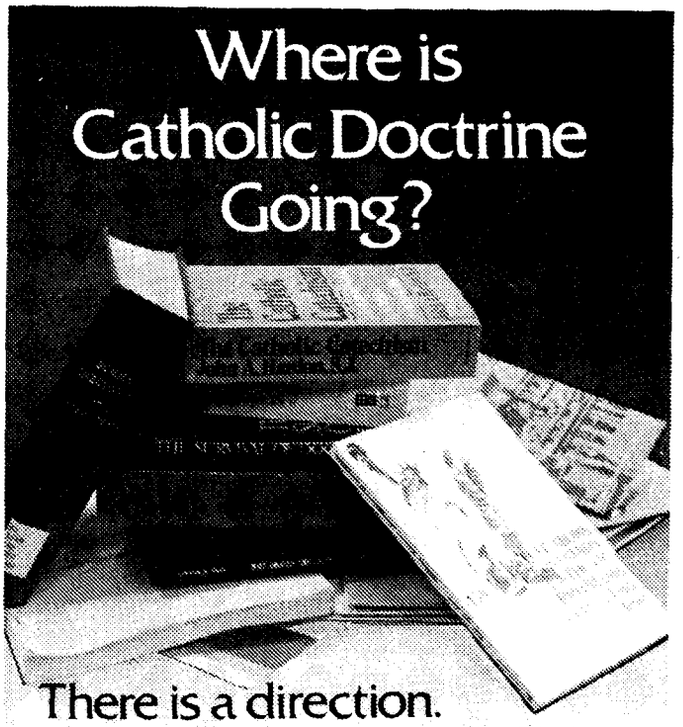
MARY GRIFFIN

Little, Brown, $7.95

BARBARA MUTKOSKI

A certain time lag inevitably intervenes between peak experiences and their translation into the written word. In October of 1962, Pope John XXIII, presiding at the opening session of Vatican II, called on the entire Catholic world to undertake an *aggiornamento*—to bring itself fully into the twentieth century. The effect of John's dictum upon religious communities was nothing short of catastrophic. Several years later, a number of formal writings concerning nuns in the modern world found their way to our libraries.

What is so refreshing about Mary Griffin's study, is that her account of conventual metanoia is personal, sensitive, and told in the vernacular. Having been a Sister of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary for thirty-one years, she has, somewhat like Dilsey in The *Sound and the Fury*, "seen the beginning and the ending." Her account of the atmosphere of convent life and training pre- and post-Vatican II traces one of the most dramatic evolutions in the Church. The overt purpose of her study is an attempt at understanding what caused the metamorphosis from the Brides of Christ, set apart from the world, and dutifully obeying their Divine Right superiors to the modern-clad activists, dutifully obeying their own consciences. "This book grew out of my attempt to confront my own experience and to discover its meaning. An attempt, essentially, to understand my own nature, as well as the cultural and spiritual climate which largely accounts for me."



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Although Mary Griffin's book is autobiographical, its scope is generic: the American nun's experience—pre- and post-Vatican II, the Civil Rights marches, the Vietnam war, and the Women's Movement. The initial chapters of her memoir recreate the milieu of convent life in mid-century America and analyze the characteristics of the young women who joined it. "Why did we enter the convent? Why in the forties and fifties did American girls by the thousands turn their shoulder-length bobs on life, kick off their saddle shoes, and disappear into novitiates over the length and breadth of the land? Why?" Throughout the course of three chapters, the "why" gradually unfolds.

The most powerful influence on these young women were the nuns who taught them. Trailing clouds of glory as they entered the classroom, the nuns represented a chosen few who had been singularly "called" by God. "Not only were they our cultural heroines, but their lives constituted an almost irresistible invitation in an essentially closed society." The theology of the time emphasized separation, a turning away from the world, and an embrace of a mystical otherworldliness. Anyone seeking perfection had clearly only one way to go. "Through half a dozen Ignatian retreats I had heard the call of the Master, 'Come follow me.' Jesuit spirituality sped arrowlike to my receptive mind. In the meditation on the Two Standards, I unhesitatingly chose the Standard of Christ. When we contemplated the Three Classes of Men, I knew that I should throw my lot with the young man who sold all and went in poverty to follow Christ. . . . That master psychologist, Ignatius of Loyola, spoke as unerringly to me as to Francis Xavier. . . ." In the hushed chapel, amid sanctuary lamps flickering in cut-glass amber bowls, and the incense of Benediction spiraling upward, in that otherworldly atmosphere, the seeds of many a religious vocation were sowed.

Miss Griffin characterizes the novices of her generation as "innocent, messianic, insular, naive, and full of goodwill." Brought up in a totally Catholic milieu, they were essentially docile ("We absorbed doctrine. We conformed."), and they deliberately tried to live a life focused not on this world, but on the next ("Thomas Merton would be our beckoning star, not Teilhard de Chardin."). Within the course of one explosive decade, the life-style of these women would undergo radical transformation. With remarkable insight, Miss Griffin examines the impact of the events of the sixties which burst open this "essentially closed society."

The Civil Rights Movement provided one impetus for change. In August of 1964, a handful of Franciscan nuns joined demonstrators outside the Illinois Club for Catholic Women. The sisters, sociology students at Loyola University, were protesting the refusal to admit a black student to the Club's pool. Activist nuns suddenly made headlines, and "proper" Catholics were incensed by this public display. "I remember coming to the realization," writes Mary Griffin, "that lots of people (even people who loved us) didn't really know who nuns were. In films like *Come to the Stable* and *Lilies of the Field*, Hollywood had done its job well." To many Catholics, the nun's traditional habit connoted all that symbolized the pre-Council Church: authoritarianism, separatism, a ghetto mentality. "Vatican II said: Change all that. Embrace the world, all men, all faiths. Get involved in the solution to twentieth-century problems of war and poverty and overpopulation. . . ."

In March of 1964, Martin Luther King appeared on national television and urged every citizen outraged by the blatant violation of civil rights in America to join him in his freedom march from Selma. At Mundelein College, a busload of students and faculty headed South. Six of the faculty were nuns, and Mary Griffin was among them. At the end of the march, she recalls: "I was at the farthest remove from the crisp, immaculate Hollywood nun. And I was undeniably happy."

In the author's own community, the most radical change undertaken in the sixties was TOPA (totally open personnel application). Hitherto committed exclusively to teaching, the Order opened itself to a variety of apostolates. "From now on, BVM's would no longer be deployed like troops. From now on, responding to the needs of the world as they saw them, they would themselves largely determine the direction of the congregational apostolate." Mary Griffin's own response to TOPA was to take leave from her deanship at Mundelein for three years and to accept a position as an English professor at Alcorn A & M, an all-black college in the South.

> *"Will the institution of religious life survive into the twenty-first century? Daniel Berrigan says no, not unless it opens itself to the reality of a radically new mode of existence. To reject its finest and best merely because they choose to marry is, in his opinion, to express an unconscious death wish. Theologian Gabriel Moran agrees. He's been telling religious congregations how dead they are for the past four years. 'We've got to face it while we still have enough concerned people left in the movement to crystallize new, living forms of community.' For Rosemary Ruether, one thing at least is certain: new forms of community will not grow out of the celibate rectory or the convent. 'There must be a radical and thorough-going thinking through of a new world view in all its dimensions, and the development of a new social form of human relationships that will really be adequate and suitable to contain such a world view'."*
>
> —The Courage to Choose

As the book traces material change, it deals with conceptual change as well.

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The majority of nuns have moved from demure separation, to active participation in the world; from full habit to modern dress; from convent to small community, or apartment living. Less visible, yet perhaps more significant, are the changing perceptions of the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Miss Griffin quotes from a variety of sources on these changing attitudes, and her account is balanced and forceful. Perhaps the most controversial of these emerging views is expressed in her chapter "The Ethic of Chastity," which explores with candor the paradoxical issue of sexual celibacy.

A variety of speakers, Elizabeth McAlister and Philip Berrigan among them, are quoted on their changed perception of the vow of chastity. Rosemary Ruether states that there is simply no way to take the old skins of institutionalized celibacy found in today's priesthood and religious orders and "'pour a new wine of sexual liberation into them, keeping on the form of celibate communal life, but no longer demanding that it be a sexless life.'" This stance, Ruether predicts, will lead to "'total institutional disaster.'" Miss Griffin speaks of a small number of priests and nuns whose attitude concerning celibacy stands in marked contrast to Ruether's and whose position seems to have been carefully and responsibly thought through. "They are committed to the life they are in: they want to live a simple, communal, Christian life in service to the Kingdom. But they also want the wholeness of deep involvement with another. They see no contradiction between their vow of celibacy and such love relationships, even if these express themselves sexually. They are *not* marrying, establishing families with all the attendant responsibilities." Amid the varying perceptions of the vow of chastity, what emerges clearly is the ambiguity of the matter.

In her final chapters, Miss Griffin examines the effect which the Women's Movement has had, and continues to have, on religious communities. Feminist writers such as Mary Daly and Betty Friedan have penetrated the thinking of nuns, yet certain visible changes are still pending. At the sacramental level of ministry, nuns have made little progress, even though an increasing number of theologians propound that there are really no Biblical or doctrinal objections to ordaining women. "The circular reasoning by which a male-dominated Church maintains its obviously sexist position vis-à-vis the priesthood has long since been exposed." In an interview with the author, Betty Friedan confided her optimism about the position of women in the Church. She admitted, however, that she was shocked to see the views of women represented at the Vatican only through men. Ms. Friedan believes that substantial changes will be made in the Church, "only when women get into the offices where their own fate is determined." The office of Cardinal is obviously one of them.

As Mary Griffin suggests, the post-Vatican II nun cannot be captured in a static metaphor. She is be-coming. "Once a comfortable otherworldly sign of unalterable faith, she functions today as a prickly, frequently unwelcome reminder of what society would like to forget—the disjointed post-Christian character of our times and the responsibilities we all share for this." Gradually, a new image of the nun takes shape—the nun as conscienticized, individually responsible, willing to take risks in the name of Christian commitment, the nun as one "with the existential courage to choose."

The Courage to Choose is more than a book about nuns, however. It is a book about the vision of mid-century Catholic Americans, their attitudes, and their special definition of "religious" life. The book deals with personal and communal choice in a time of radical change. Mary Griffin chose in the end to leave her formal religious life. As her memoir recreates the metamorphosis of a milieu, it also recreates her own personal metamorphosis. The reader is left, however, without an explanation of her final choice. The author's silence on this decision, raises, I think, the book's ultimate question: What is the nature of religious life? Her Preface affords an insight: "But all of us, those who left and those who stayed, carry our pre-Vatican II formation in our bones. Deep-rooted values, patterns of thought, vestiges of ritual cling to us still. The chapel may indeed be bare, the sweet birds flown, but what is of the essence remains: commitment, community, Christianity."

From the Diaries of Felix Frankfurter

JOSEPH LASH, EDIT.

Norton, $12.50

My Father

HUGO BLACK, JR.

Random House, $8.95

ISIDORE SILVER

To the Constitutional historian, Justices Hugo Black and Felix Frankfurter were legal mammoths locking tusks in titanic battle for two decades. If Black, the "absolutist" who read the First Amendment literally and averred that

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the 14th Amendment required the states to fully adhere to the Federal Bill of Rights won the struggle, it was only by the narrowest of margins. To Lash, "[H]istory has vindicated Black's absolutism and activism. . . .", but Frankfurter's conception of judicial self-restraint was developed "with such scholarship, coherence, and intellectual power that the corpus of his opinions represents a shaping energy in legal thought and practice." Sixty-five law professors and deans, evidencing their own self-restraint, were content to call the matter a standoff and duly admitted both men to the Pantheon of judicial "greats" in a recent poll. These books roundly and sympathetically depict the great adversaries' professional and personal lives—and, it appears, another near tie has resulted.

The treatments should be read together, for, like Supreme Court opinions in complex and divisive cases, each sheds light on the other. Frankfurter, as revealed in his diaries, was a vigorous, perceptive man with a bitter and even spiteful personal streak (Lash's brilliant 87-page "biographical essay" serves the Justice better than do his own writings). Hugo, Sr. understood his colleague's tendency toward peevishness—"Felix just gets mad quick and gets over it." In anticipation of Frankfurter's treatment of his father, Hugo Black Jr. ruefully adds that "FF unfortunately did not destroy his notes." Well, despite the cantankerousness and frequent pettiness of the Diaries, we are fortunate to have a vivid portrait of a devoted public servant who, for decades, was, as Brandeis put it, "the most useful lawyer in America." Lash's essay not only reprieves Frankfurter from justified charges of irascibility and vindictiveness; it also sensitively portrays the development of American Progressivism in the 20th century.

Whatever Frankfurter's personal quirks (diminished by his willingness, not chronicled in the Diaries, to forgive and forget), they scarcely match the insensitivity and overbearing narrow-mindedness of Hugo Black. *My Father*, though properly respectful of his intellectual and moral stature, does not shrink from de-clothing the Emperor. Black was an egomaniac (his nickname among Alabama lawyers was "Old Ego"), a consistent hypochondriac, something of a physical coward (who may have well just "given up" in the face of a death which was not inevitable), and, finally, was always demanding of, and often cruel and even vicious to, his children. Although he loved mankind in the abstract, he was, as his son gently put it, "not extraordinarily sensitive to what made a particular individual tick." His attitude toward women is summed up in a chapter entitled, "Women Are Just Better than Men," and both his and Frankfurter's idolatry of their talented wives must have been suffocating indeed.

But, the public record and "usefulness" of both stand apart from the inevitable personal costs to their families. We are shocked to learn, as the younger Black says, that "I think it can be fairly said that until my father was appointed to the Supreme Court . . . that institution was used by the privileged to put the underprivileged back in their place." Has he cut through much Constitutional cant or is he simplistic"? Whatever the answer, at least Black forced the society to confront its legal neglect of the poor. Was Black wrong when he condemned the disgraceful movement to impeach Justice Douglas by observing that "If they impeach, they'll do it just because he is champion of the weak against the strong, and that's just wrong." Certainly, as an ex-politician (and prosecutor), he knew that the law could be used for political ends—"The founders knew that libel and obscenity had been used as excuses to tyrannize free speech."

Despite the doctrinal disputes between the two—engendered, as Frankfurter's passionate denunciation makes clear, by Black's "break" in 1943 on the issue whether Jehovah Witness school children were required to take the oath of allegiance to the flag in violation of their religious beliefs—their personal friendship endured. Both shared a sense of mission, a passionate devotion to the Constitution or rather to its fundamental values (differently interpreted, of course), and an intellectual and personal honesty and moral courage that transcended their differences. Both were strong-minded and strong-willed, both sought disciples (Frankfurter won the battle for the academics while Black, the cannier politician, won the "hearts and minds" of the Justices), and both interpreted Rooseveltian liberalism differently. They reflected the optimism, passion and honesty of a unique era in our history.

Given the prevalence of both mediocrity and corruption in our generation, one can only envy the life of the mind and the vision of a national destiny that animated both men. To Frankfurter, the political reformer, all ideas were exciting and often valuable; his unflagging energy in pursuit of a "more perfect" democracy disdained worldly riches. His endless conversations with

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the politically great and near-great, his public battles for justice in the Tom Mooney and Sacco-Vanzetti cases, and his belief that education married to vitality can achieve the promise of humane democracy were awesome. Black, the judicial revolutionary who followed his "Constitutional star" to revitalize the Bill of Rights, the unremitting defender of the poor, the most liberal New Deal Senator in the country, may well have been the single most decisive force in the 1954 desegregation decision.

Both men sought a permanent as well as a humane Constitution. Frankfurter thought it could be attained by judicial self-restraint and judicial support for greater political democracy; Black countered with the notion that only the clear enunciation of Constitutionally protected rights would prevent reactionaries from misusing judicial power "when they recapture the Court, which they inevitably will." Lamentably, neither of their hopes has been fulfilled, although it is clear that things would be worse had the Republic not had the benefit of Frankfurter's reform political passions and Black's not so revolutionary judicial doctrines. Some of that mix—perhaps much—might yet endure.

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Steinfels (Cont.)

number of judgments about the Kennedy presidency are affected by our view of the man's character. To what extent was he calculating and ruthless? Did he find more in all that James Bond than simple escapism? I can't help thinking that reports of a few staff concubines may be pertinent to those queries.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 67)

and the United Nations—would banish from the world.

I most appreciate your perceptive equation of true Zionism with the "identification of Jews the world over with Israel as the Land sacred to Jewish history and vital to Jewish safety and survival as a people." We often hear this equation callously denied by those who have axes to grind or who just don't know. The political threat against this object of Jewish identification has only been heightened by its semantic expansion into the anti-"Zionist" threat against all Jews *as Jews*. This is exactly what one does when one attacks a people's historic hope. ARNOLD FORSTER

Seattle, Wash.

To the Editors: Concerning your Dec. 5 editorial on "Anti-Zionism/Anti-Semitism:" It is hard to state a contrary view without being accused of—or encouraging—covert anti-Semitism. I do not want that, and I share many of the concerns you raise.

What I question is—Can Zionism be defended theologically? Does Zionism's "roots in the Bible" justify the creation of the modern Israeli state—in which mainly white-skinned Europeans moved mainly dark-skinned Palestinians off their land?

I know a few anti-Semites—and I am reluctant to express my views on Israel to them for fear of encouraging their hatred for Jews. However, I cannot help but wonder if the creation and continued existence of Israel is a protection or any security for world Jewry—or if it doesn't in fact harm their cause.

I appreciate the integrity of *Commonweal*, but ask if there are not some gratuitous assumptions behind your position. (REV.) PHILLIP BLOOM

Word Limits

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: It's a pity to see a good word go down the drain. In your October 10 issue, Herbert London writes, ". . . the legal parameters . . . do not exist" as if "parameters" meant boundaries or limits. As far as I can tell, "parameter" has only one meaning, a rather technical one: "A variable or an arbitrary constant appearing in a mathematical expression, each value of which restricts or determines the specific form of the expression." (This from the American Heritage Dictionary.) EDWIN KENNEBECK

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Chesterton

G. K. CHESTERTON SOCIETY FORUM, Saturday, February 21, 1-4 P.M., Faculty Lounge, 12th floor, FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, Lincoln Center, New York 10023. For details contact Prof. John P. McCarthy, Social Sciences Division, above address.

Books Needed

THE RECTOR of a Minor Seminary some hundred miles from Bombay asks for religious books for the seminary and for the local retreat center. The school has an enrollment of 180 young men studying for the priesthood. These books "have not to be the latest. I still believe that 'Old is Gold.'" Books should be sent to: FR. CAJETAN LOBO, S.D.B., Don Bosco Seminary, Lonavla, 401 401, Poona, India.

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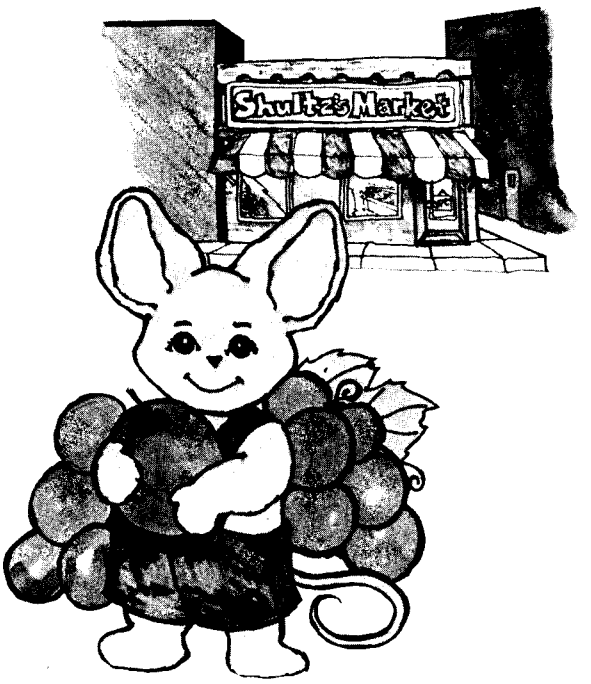

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